VOLUME XXXVII No. 4

The Catholic Historical Review

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The Catholic Historical Review

Vol. XXXVII JANUARY, 1952 Number 4

EDMUND BURKE, HIS FRIENDS, AND THE DAWN OF IRISH CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

By

A. Paul Levack*

In August, 1780, a month before he stood for re-election to his parliamentary seat for the city of Bristol, Edmund Burke wrote to one of his constituents:

> I have been a steady friend, since I came to the use of reason, to the cause of religious toleration; not only as a Christian and protestant, but as one concerned for the civil welfare of the country in which I live, and in which I have for some time discharged a public trust. I never thought it right... to force men into enmity to the state by ill treatment, upon any pretense either of civil or religious party; and if I never thought it wise in any circumstances, still less do I think it wise, when we have lost one half of our empire by one idle quarrel, to distract . . . the other half, by another quarrel not less injudicious and absurd.[1]

It is not my intention here to consider Burke's devotion to the cause of Catholic emancipation until the summer of his death in 1797, nor

* Presidential address read at the meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, New York, December 29, 1951. Mr. Levack is associate professor of modern history and chairman of the Department of History in Fordham University.

[1] Burke to Mr. Watts, Bristol, August 10, 1780, *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* . . . (eds. Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Bourke), 4 vols. (London, 1844), II, 369; these volumes will be cited hereafter as *Corr.*

even to the date of the above letter in which he so well expressed his position on this question, particularly as it concerned Ireland, but only to the passage of the Irish Catholic Relief Act of 1778. This story, though by no means ignored by historians, has never been fully documented and some of its details are still to be found only in manuscripts.[2] Burke's efforts in behalf of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to whom he was attached by kinship and upbringing,[3] commenced as early as 1761, when, after a stay of more than ten years in England, he returned to his native Dublin as private secretary to William Gerard Hamilton, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Halifax.[4] For this appointment, he was indebted to another Irishman, the Earl of Charlemont, who two years earlier had introduced him to Hamilton.[5]

[2] To the extent that this account is based upon the latter, I am indebted considerably to Professor Ross J. S. Hoffman, through whose industry the Burke-O'Hara correspondence, on microfilm, is now available in the library of Fordham University. This correspondence has only recently come to light; cf. Ross J. S. Hoffman, "The Wentworth Papers of Burke, Rockingham, and Fitzwilliam," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XCIV (1950), 353. The Burke to O'Hara letters are the private property of Mr. Donal O'Hara of Annaghmore, County Sligo, Ireland. Also, Professor Hoffman has placed at my disposal photostats of several Burke letters in the Wentworth Papers (cited hereafter as Wentworth Papers), now in the Sheffield Public Library, England; many of these papers, on microfilm, are in the Fordham University Library.

[3] Edmund and his brothers, Garret and Richard, were reared as members of the Established Church, their father's communion; his mother (née Mary Nagle) and sister Juliana were devout Catholics. From his sixth to his eleventh year (1735-1740), Edmund lived with his mother's Catholic brothers in County Cork where he attended a hedge school; of these years, Thomas Macknight, *History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke,* 3 vols. (London, 1858), I, 9, wrote, "So powerful an influence had this association on his whole life, that, unless it is steadily borne in mind, much of his history and political career must be quite unintelligible." Macknight presents the best documented account available of Burke's part in the movement for Catholic emancipation.

[4] Appointed, March, 1761; arrived in Ireland, October, 1761; recalled, October, 1762. Burke, preceding his chief to Dublin, arrived there in August, 1761; cf. James Prior, *Life of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke,* 5th ed. (London, 1854), p. 68.

[5] Prior, *op. cit.,* p. 67; *The Manuscripts and Correspondence of James, First Earl of Charlemont* [Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part X], 2 vols. (London, 1891-1894), I, 146 (cited hereafter as *Charlemont*).

Since Burke's graduation from Trinity College in 1748 the political situation in Ireland had somewhat altered. For more than sixty years following the Treaty of Limerick (1691) the Irish Protestant landed interest had worked in harmony with the English government—from which, in return for a servile submission, it enjoyed the freedom of tyrannizing the Catholic majority. The little relief which Catholics enjoyed in all those years from the furor of a horrendous penal code was owing to whatever slight restrictions were imposed upon the Irish "undertakers"—as the small ruling coterie of native politicians was called—by the English managers in Dublin Castle.[6] In the year 1753, however, occurred a breach within this administration between the English and Irish interests when the latter, supported by an emergent national group in the House of Commons, prevailed over the former on the disposal of a treasury surplus.[7] One significance of this quarrel is that, in promoting public discussion and a more lively political atmosphere, it fostered both activity among the Catholics and also a reconsideration of the penal system by the rival interests in the government.[8] Moreover, the fact that the Irish Protestant national group, hostile as it was to England, was particularly virulent to the Irish Catholics, had the effect of producing in the English interest, if only for selfish reasons, a more indulgent attitude toward Papists.[9] To Burke these developments were no surprise; in his college days, he had become keenly aware of the intentions of the Protestant nationalist element—a fact which disposed him tempera-

[6] W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, new ed., 5 vols. (London, 1892), I, chapter 2, *passim;* also Matthew O'Conor, *The History of the Irish Catholics from the Settlement in 1691 . . . to the Revolution* (Dublin, 1813), pp. 320-321. John Curry, *An Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland from the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the Settlement under King William with the State of the Irish Catholics from that Settlement to the Relaxation of the Popery Laws in the Year 1778 . . .* , 2 vols. (Dublin, 1786), II, 260, praised Chesterfield, the Lord Lieutenant in 1745, for warding off in that year the efforts of the Protestants to enforce the penal laws; cf. also Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 460-461. O'Conor, *op. cit.*, p. 232, however, stressed Chesterfield's hostility toward the Catholics.

[7] Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 463-465.

[8] Thomas Wyse, *Historical Sketch of the Late Catholic Association of Ireland*, 2 vols. (London, 1829), I, 48, 88.

[9] Measures introduced in Parliament in 1756 and 1757 to require the registry of priests failed only because of the opposition of the English interest. O'Conor, *op. cit.*, pp. 244, 251.

mentally to the English interest with its slightly milder attitude to Catholics.[10] When, therefore, in the summer of 1761, writing to his Irish friend, Charles O'Hara, he thus deplored the Irish opposition party: "I am somewhat out of humour with patriotism, & can think but meanly of such publick spirit, as like the fanatical spirit, banishes common sense,"[11] he expressed himself not only as "an administration man" but from conviction. Of the intentions of that administration, he wrote more significantly just one week later: "As to those most immediately concerned, I am desired to tell you that they have no notion of dividing in order to govern."[12] This shows evidence, I think, of a repugnance to the practice of winning the favor of the "patriots" by denying justice to the Catholics.

In Dublin, Burke soon associated with a small but distinguished group of Irish politicians who, even in these years, were striving to relax the grave disabilities which hampered the entire social life of Irish Catholics. Among this group were Sir Hercules Langrishe, Monck Mason, John Hely-Hutchinson, Edmund Sexton Pery, and George Stone, Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, primate of the Established Church, and leader of the English interest since 1747.[13] Particularly close to him in these years were also several old Trinity

[10] The contention of Arthur P. I. Samuels, *The Early Life and Writings of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke* . . . (Cambridge, 1922) that Burke, in 1748-1750, wrote in behalf of the virulent anti-Catholic "patriot," Charles Lucas—an hypothesis accepted by both Robert H. Murray, *Edmund Burke, A Biography* (Oxford, 1931) and William O'Brien, *Edmund Burke as an Irishman* (Dublin, 1924)—is very questionable. For an admirable refutation, cf. Gaetano L. Vincitorio, "Edmund Burke's International Politics," an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University (1950), Appendix I (pp. 308-343). O'Brien's volume contains a detailed, though undocumented, account of Burke's efforts on behalf of the Irish Catholics.

[11] Letter of July 3, 1761, Burke-O'Hara Correspondence, *loc. cit.*

[12] Burke to O'Hara, July 10, 1761.

[13] Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Macknight, *op. cit.*, I, 148-149. To Langrishe, Burke wrote in 1795, "These things we discussed together four or five and thirty years ago. We were then, and at bottom ever since, of the same opinion on . . . every part of the penal system," Second Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe on the Catholic Question [May 26, 1795], *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, 12 vols. (Boston, 1865-7), VI, 383-384; these volumes will be cited hereafter as *Works*. Stone's attitude to Catholics is disputed; O'Conor, *op. cit.*, p. 279, considered it as favorable and cited Curry as one who was fair to Stone; Francis Plowden, *An Historical Review of the State of Ireland from the Invasion . . . under Henry II to its Union with Great Britain . . . 1801*, 5

associates who held views similar to his own on the Catholic question. Of these the one whom he cherished probably most was Dr. Thomas Leland, whom he encouraged to write a history of Ireland;[14] for Burke, too, had a deep interest in that subject,[15] and partly from it developed his first political work, the so-called *Tract on the Popery Laws*.[16] Though this tract, published only posthumously, had no effect on contemporary opinion, it is of great importance in our study, for it was begun almost certainly during his residence in Ireland, and reveals his thought in the early 1760's on the whole question of the penal laws.[17] Following an accurate and detailed description of the laws themselves is an attack upon them based upon the soundest principles of moral and political prudence. Most disastrous in their consequences, in Burke's opinion, were the prohibitions against the acquisition by Catholics of landed property and the limitations upon their enjoyment of that property which had escaped confiscation. In the law requiring that from land taken on a lease of thirty-one years (the only exception allowed in the general prohibition against Catholics' taking land), not more than one-third of the improved yearly value could be retained—under penalty of forfeiture of the whole to an informer, Burke discerned the prime reason for the impoverishment of Ireland. In the provision enabling an eldest son, by turning Protestant, to gain control of his father's property he saw an influence as destructive of good morals as was the Gavel Act, requiring the division of a Catholic's estate equally among his children, violative of natural testa-

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vols. (Philadelphia, 1805), II, 95, pictured Stone as unfavorable to the Catholics; cf. also below, note 37.

[14] Macknight, *op. cit.*, I, 151; Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[15] Of Burke's relations with David Hume in the 1750's, Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 61, stated: "A difference of opinion respecting the Irish massacre of 1641 gave rise to some animated discussions between them; Burke maintaining, from documents existing in the Dublin University, that the common accounts of that event were overcharged. . . ."

[16] Fragments of a Tract relative to the Laws against Popery in Ireland, *Works*, VI, 299-360.

[17] When the *Tract* was begun is not certain. A note in *Works*, VI, 300, gave the year 1765, but Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 97, dated it "about 1761," which is more likely. In the Wentworth Papers there is a letter of June 8, 1765, in which Curry wrote to Burke, "I am delighted with the hint you have given me of the large work you are engaged in and the progress you have made in it. I long for nothing so much as to see it finished and in the hands of the public. . . ."

mentary rights. Only slightly less reprehensible was the exclusion of Catholics from educational opportunities, the law, and the army; and their persecution in the conduct of trade. Assailing the basis upon which the code was popularly justified, he wrote:

> The great prop of this whole system is not pretended to be its justice or its utility, but the supposed danger [of Catholics] to the state. . . . Such . . . arguments . . . are generally full of passion and of error, and built upon facts which in themselves are most false. It cannot . . . be denied, that those miserable performances which go about under the names of Histories of Ireland do, indeed, represent those events after this manner. . . . But there is an interior history of Ireland, the genuine voice of its records and monuments, which speaks a very different language from these histories. . . . These things have in some measure begun to appear already. . . .[18]

These last words were an allusion in all probability to the writings of the eminent Catholic leader, Dr. John Curry, whose *Historical Memoirs* had appeared in 1759,[19] and who on several occasions solicited Burke's counsel in historical studies.

Of the severity of the Irish penal code there can be no doubt, but of its enforcement and the prevalent Irish Protestant attitude toward it at the beginning of the reign of George III, agreement is less evident.[20] At any rate, what Burke called its "great prop"—the alleged disloyalty of Catholics—had long ceased to have any justification. In 1688 Irish Catholics had rallied to James II, but on the occasion of the successive perils to the Hanover dynasty in 1715, 1719, and 1745

[18] *Works*, VI, 355-356.

[19] Plowden, *op. cit.*, II, 55; this author (II, 186 n.) stated: "In all the affairs of Ireland Mr. Burke has ever evinced the most accurate . . . knowledge, the most unbiassed judgment, and the most constitutional spirit. . . . The historian cannot therefore dispense with favoring the reader with the historical views from that masterly hand . . . ," but he presented very little information on Burke's activities in behalf of Catholic relief.

[20] Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 469-471, while noting occasional exceptions stressed the decline of strictly religious intolerance. Curry, *op. cit.*, II, 265, observed that "Though the exercise of the Catholic religion at this time [1760] was connived at in this kingdom, the penal laws affecting popery . . . were so frequently and rigorously exacted" that Catholics either left the land or starved. In another connection, Curry observed, *op. cit.*, II, 285, "Nothing certainly can equal the absurdity of supposing the exercise of that religion to be free and undisturbed, at the same time that it is forbidden and restrained by a multiplicity of severe legal penalties, which are still occasionally inflicted."

they had been conspicuously faithful.[21] Since the outbreak of war with France in 1756, moreover, they had been particularly loyal. In 1759 Ireland's first Catholic Association, organized three years before[22] by Charles O'Conor, Thomas Wyse, and Dr. Curry, presented an address of loyalty to the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and again in 1760 a similar address upon the occasion of the accession of George III. Yet despite favorable replies from the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Bedford,[23] to both messages, and the inclusion of remarks encouraging to Catholics in Halifax's speech from the throne at the commencement of his administration,[24] deep suspicion of the Papists persisted.

In January, 1762, after Spain's entrance into the war against Britain, Hamilton proposed to Parliament a Foreign Enlistment Bill enabling Irish Catholics to raise six regiments to serve in defense of Portugal—at that country's expense—against Spain.[25] Whether this measure, which would have slightly relaxed the provisions of the penal system,[26] emanated from Burke, a probability in the opinion of several writers,[27] we cannot be certain; but there can be little doubt that he urged its submission and provided his chief with arguments invoked in its support.[28] Nevertheless, the proposal, which was supported by Burke's friend, Hely-Hutchinson,[29] failed; in fact, the government itself hesitated to press it owing to the opposition of the "undertakers." Commenting on the pusillanimity of the former and the influence of the latter, Charlemont observed: "Some of the most powerful [of the undertakers] . . . , whose prejudices were to be

[21] In 1762 Primate Stone testified in the Irish Parliament that upon examining in 1747 the papers of Murray, secretary of the Pretender, he found no evidence of the implication of any Irish Catholic or of the court of Rome in the rising of 1745. O'Conor, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

[22] The date of the Association's founding is given variously as 1756 (Wyse, *op. cit.*, I, 9), 1757 (Plowden, *op. cit.*, II, 54) and 1759 (Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 183).

[23] Appointed, January, 1757; replaced by the Earl of Halifax in 1761.

[24] Wyse, *op. cit.*, I, 81.

[25] *Charlemont*, I, 19; Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 186, stated the proposal was for seven regiments.

[26] For several decades after the Treaty of Limerick many Irish Catholics emigrated and enlisted in continental European—especially French—armies; by 1760, however, this practice had practically ceased, cf. O'Conor, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[27] Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Macknight, *op. cit.*, I, 144; Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[28] O'Conor, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297; *Charlemont*, I, 146.

[29] O'Conor, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 186.

respected, and whose wishes were not to be controverted" were "Protestant bashaws . . . loth to resign so many of those wretches, whom they looked upon and treated as their slaves."[30]

It was about this time that the Whiteboy disturbances, which had broken out toward the close of 1761,[31] further enraged Irish Protestant opinion. Though this rising, centered in Munster, originated from the rapacity of landlords, particularly their enclosure of farm lands for grazing, the varied acts of extreme violence by the predominantly Catholic tenantry were regarded by the Protestant Ascendancy element as political rather than economic, and were attributed to French instigation and to what Burke called the "old prop"—the disloyalty of Catholics.[32] Confronted with this new crisis, the Halifax administration—unlike the leaders of the "patriot" party—acted with great moderation and sent out Sir Richard Aston, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, to try several of the rioters at Clonmel and to inquire into the causes of the disorders.[33] That this step was taken at Burke's suggestion must, in the absence of conclusive proof, remain a conjecture; but his intense desire to dispel the charges made against the generality of Catholics is an absolute certainty.[34]

By mid-1762 Burke returned to England, but he was again in Dublin from the fall of 1763 through the spring of 1764, during which time he performed for the Catholics another service, from which the benefits were to accrue only several years later. What Burke did in 1764 was to draw up for Dr. Curry an address and petition to the king setting forth the most glaring injustices from which Irish Cath-

[30] *Charlemont*, I, 19-20.

[31] Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 31.

[32] The conversion of land for grazing, a process long in operation in Ireland, had markedly accelerated by 1760 due to an increase in the price of dairy products, owing in turn to murrain among the cattle, cf. Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 1-4. Further evidence in support of the non-political character of the disturbances is the fact that Catholic landlords were as rapacious as Protestant ones; cf. Wyse, *op. cit.*, I, 89-90 and O'Conor, *op. cit.*, 287, each quoting a letter of Charles O'Conor, of June 4, 1762; in the Wentworth Papers is a letter of Charles O'Conor to Burke, April 25, 1765, stressing the same contention. Curry, *op. cit.*, II, 272-273, charges that some Protestants connived at, if not even fomented, the disorders for low political motives.

[33] Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 33-34; cf. also Plowden, *op. cit.*, II, 71; also O'Conor, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-296.

[34] Cf. "An Unfinished Paper of Mr. Burke's, relative to the Disturbances in Ireland at the beginning of the Reign of George the Third," *Corr.* I, 41-45. Cf.

olics suffered with respect to the acquisition and inheritance of property.[35] The reasons why this address was presented neither at this time nor shortly thereafter were first, the sharp differences that had developed within and temporarily dissolved the Catholic Association,[36] and second, the rapid diminution, after Halifax's recall, of the prospects for Catholic relief. At the very close of the session of 1761-1762 Parliament had passed a bill introduced by Monck Mason, another of Burke's friends, enabling Catholics who lent money to Protestants to take mortgages on real estate as security. But this measure, though it would have assisted Protestant landlords in obtaining much needed loans, was disapproved by the English Privy Council. In the session of 1763-1764, Mason again introduced a bill having the same object, but this time it was rejected by the Irish Parliament itself[37]—a testimony to the aroused hostility of the Ascendancy Party. That a second wave of Whiteboy disorders which commenced in 1764, close upon the suppression of the first in 1763, added to this feeling is very likely; so too, doubtlessly, did the successful challenge which the Catholic merchants made in the courts of the exaction of quar-

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also commentary on "authors" of Whiteboy disturbances, quoted from the London *Gazette* of May 1, 1762, in the *Annual Register . . . for the Year 1762*, p. 84. The editor of the *Annual Register* at this time was Burke; on Burke's connection with this publication, cf. Thomas W. Copeland, *Our Eminent Friend Edmund Burke* (New Haven, 1949), pp. 92-117.

[35] The petition is printed in Curry, *op. cit.*, II, 287-293. While no mention was made there of Burke's authorship, we have Curry's own testimony in a letter to Burke, August 18, 1778, *Corr.*, II, 237-238. Among the Wentworth Papers is the text of this petition with revisions—both in Burke's hand. When Burke struck out certain phrases and substituted others is not known, but that he worked over the document is obvious. The version in Curry, *loc. cit.*, is the original version. Curry's work contains but one reference to Burke—and that a note, obviously inserted by Charles O'Conor, author of the preface, for Curry died in 1780 and the note (II, 281) is based on a letter of Burke's which was not written until February, 1782. Wyse, *op. cit.*, makes no mention of Burke whatsoever. Of Lecky, Prior, and Macknight, only the last (*op. cit.*, I, 153) appeared to be aware of Burke's authorship of the 1764 document. Cf. also below, note 62.

[36] Cf. Wyse, *op. cit.*, I, 73-79.

[37] Concerning Mason's bills cf. Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 191-192; also Plowden, *op. cit.*, II, 94-98, who gave no evidence to support his statement that Primate Stone was responsible for the failure of the measure; concerning Stone's attitude to the Catholics, cf. above, note 13.

terage—dues long levied upon them by Protestant corporations.[38] So aroused was the Ascendancy by this defiance that petitions were addressed to the Commons to give legal confirmation to the traditional assessments.[39]

Following the dismissal of Hamilton by Halifax's successor, the Earl of Northumberland,[40] Burke and Hamilton returned to England, where soon after they themselves parted—bitterly and forever.[41] Passing over that rupture, it may be observed that Hamilton doubtless was one of the sources of at least some of the contemptible rumors circulated subsequently about his former secretary.[42] In the summer of 1765 Burke found employment as secretary to a man of more sterling quality—the Marquis of Rockingham who had just become George III's fourth Prime Minister.[43] That winter Burke entered Parliament and until the following summer his talents were occupied with problems encompassing far more than England and Ireland, but his interest in the latter did not diminish. Many years later he wrote to his friend Thomas Burgh, "When I came into this Parliament . . . what was first and uppermost in my thoughts, was the hope . . . to be somewhat useful to the place of my birth and education."[44] But with what was transpiring there at that time he became progressively displeased. Upon learning of the mockery of justice in the case of Father Nicholas Sheehy who, after being acquitted at Dublin of treason in connection with the Whiteboy disorders, was transferred unfairly to Clonmel, tried there on trumped-up charges, con-

[38] Wyse, *op. cit.*, I, 85-87 n.

[39] *Ibid.;* Charles Lucas, the "patriot," was in 1767 the sponsor of a bill to achieve this purpose, but the measure was quashed by Lord Townshend (Lord Lieutenant, 1767-1772), cf. O'Conor, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-331.

[40] Appointed, April, 1763; recalled, May, 1764; cf. Macknight, *op. cit.*, I, 164-166.

[41] The cause of the breach was Hamilton's striving to retain Burke in his service under conditions which the latter considered humiliating; in the Wentworth Papers is an undated draft in Burke's hand which adds some details to those presented in *Corr.*, I, 46-51, 55-81. As a consequence of the breach, Burke surrendered a pension of £ 300 which he had been granted in recognition of his services in the Halifax administration; for a brief account, cf. Prior, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-76.

[42] Prior, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 84. Rockingham became Prime Minister on July 10 and Burke became his secretary on July 17.

[44] Edmund Burke to Thomas Burgh, January 1, 1780, *Works*, VI, 231-232.

victed on perjured evidence, and executed, Burke wrote to his friend O'Hara in the spring of 1766: "I find you go on in Ireland plotting; alarming; informing; seizing; & imprisoning as usual. . . . Why had I a connection of feeling or even of knowledge with such a country!"[45] Six weeks later, referring again to the Sheehy case and additional travesties, he wrote to the same friend:

> Are you not shamed, you who told me that if they could get no discovery from Sheehy, they would cool & leave off their detestable plot monging? You think well of Ireland; but I think rightly of it; & know, that their [the intolerant party's] unmeaning Senseless Malice is insatiable. . . . I am told that these miserable wretches whom they have hanged, died with one voice declaring their innocence, but truly for my part, I want no man dying, or risen from the dead, to tell me that lies are lies, & nonsense is nonsense. . . . I assure you, I look on these things with horror; & cannot talk of such proceedings as the effects of an innocent credulity. . . .[46]

After the dismissal in July, 1766, of the short-lived Rockingham ministry, Burke once more went to Ireland to visit the Clohir estate, a Nagle property in the south of Ireland, which he had inherited upon the death of his brother Garret in 1765. There at Ballyduff, on the banks of the Blackwater, he renewed boyhood friendships and strengthened family ties with his Catholic relations, particularly his uncle Garret who acted as agent for his property.[47] That autumn he was back in London for the opening of Parliament, where henceforth his attention was directed to primarily domestic, colonial, and international affairs. Yet recurrently he manifested his abiding interest in the fortunes of Ireland, and especially in those of the Irish Catholics.

During the lieutenancy of Lord Townshend (October, 1767-September, 1772), the character of the Irish political scene underwent considerable change.[48] To induce Parliament to approve an augmentation of the Irish military establishment, Townshend was authorized to consent to several of the persistent demands of the nationalist party, most of all, that for a shortening of the duration of parliaments. Whether Burke foresaw the distress which the enactment of such a

[45] Burke to O'Hara, April 8, 1766, Burke-O'Hara Correspondence, *loc. cit.* Concerning the Sheehy case, cf. Curry, *op. cit.*, II, 224-225; also O'Conor, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-316.

[46] Burke to O'Hara, May 24, 1766.

[47] Macknight, *op. cit.*, I, 254-260; also O'Brien, *op. cit.*, chapter 8.

[48] Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 78-115.

measure, the consequent dissolution of Parliament, the holding of a new election, and the eviction of countless Catholic tenants in order to make room for Protestant freeholders would involve, can only be conjectured.[49] But he surely had no enthusiasm for a reform which neither gave nor augured any relief for the oppressed majority. On March 6, 1768, after the heads for an Octennial Bill had been approved by the English Privy Council, he wrote to his cousin Garret, "You are, I suppose, full of bustle in your new elections; I am convinced all my friends will have the good sense to keep themselves from taking part in struggles in the event of which they have no share and no concern."[50]

By the exercise of influence in the Irish election of 1769 and adroit maneuvering in the Parliament resulting from it, and by the development during a long prorogation (December, 1769, to February, 1771) of a strong party of government supporters to replace the "undertakers," Townshend succeeded in offsetting the diminution of English influence expected from the Octennial Bill.[51] By these steps was prepared the way for the exertion by the London government of pressure in behalf of any measure which future circumstances might require; yet Burke saw in them only more of the chicanery which he discerned in the rule of the "king's friends" in England. To his friend O'Hara in September, 1772, the very month that Lord Townshend was replaced by Lord Harcourt, he wrote, "You scarcely can conceive how nearly the Court & the Mob approach one another in their sentiments; only that in the one it is Design, in the other folly."[52] About a year later when, to curry the favor of the Irish nationalists, a scheme was revived by the Harcourt administration, with the approval of the North ministry, to tax the rents of Irish estates owned by persons residing out of Ireland for six months during the year, Burke did all in his power to accomplish its defeat. That this measure would have been to the disadvantage of several of his Whig associates, who were great Irish landlords, he fully admitted. Yet to find in this the chief reason for his opposition to it is to overlook the view he had expressed earlier, in 1762, that the burden of such a tax would fall

[49] On these evils, cf. O'Conor, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

[50] "Original Letters of Burke," *New Monthly Magazine*, XIV (1825) and XV (1826), XIV, 386.

[51] Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 104-110.

[52] September 30, 1772, Burke-O'Hara Correspondence, *loc. cit.*

principally on the poor.[53] Moreover, as he now wrote to Sir Charles Bingham of the Irish House of Commons, such a tax was a most dangerous precedent; not only would it be a renunciation of "the principle of *common naturalization,* which runs through this whole empire," but it could very well lead to there no longer being in the English Parliament men who, "by connection, by property, or by early prepossessions and affections, are attached to the welfare" of Ireland.[54] And this, especially while the Catholic majority of the country remained not only disenfranchised but oppressed, he could only view with alarm. After the measure had failed, Bingham wrote to Burke, "You have furnished me with arguments, that I have not as yet, heard any person make use of and have put this extraordinary attempt of Administration into the proper light."[55]

Meanwhile, the position of the Irish Catholics, though better than during the height of the Whiteboy disturbance, had improved only slightly. The lords lieutenant did, to an extent, impede the enforcement of the penal laws, but statutory changes were difficult to secure. By an act passed in the session of 1771-1772, Papists who so desired were permitted to lease up to fifty acres of bog for as long as sixty-one years, provided the bog was at least one mile outside a town and at least four feet deep[56]—otherwise it might prove too profitable to let fall into Catholic hands! Yet even for this step toward the repeal of the penal code, the Ascendancy required compensation; and so to promote the decline of Popery, the £30 pension conferred upon priests who conformed to the Established Church was raised to £40.[57] To be sure, Mason's old proposal for the taking of security on land was revived, and, according to Lecky, passed three times in the years 1771, 1772, 1774 only to be lost in England.[58] However, the impression gained from Lecky, namely, that the Irish Catholic relief encountered its greatest opposition in England, is not borne out by the facts which he failed to mention. In the session of 1771-1772 Sir

[53] Burke to O'Hara, December 30, 1762.

[54] Letter of October 30, 1773, *Works,* VI, 123-134, especially 126-127.

[55] November 7, 1773, Wentworth Papers.

[56] Plowden, *op. cit.,* II, 139-140.

[57] *Ibid.,* II, 132. The two acts were finally passed by the Commons on the same day, March 13, 1772, *The Journal of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland* (to 1792), 29 vols. (Dublin, 1753-1792), XV (October 8, 1771-June 2, 1772), 271.

[58] Lecky, *op. cit.,* II, 192-193.

Charles Bingham introduced, in the Commons, heads of a bill to permit Papists to take building leases in cities; and Lord Charlemont, in the Lords, of a bill to permit those in the country to take ninety-year leases of the land on which their cottages were built. In each instance the final result was the same; the cry of danger to "the Protestant interest" was raised and the proposal failed.[59] About the same time that the absentee measure was defeated Mason, Langrishe, and Sir Lucius O'Brien brought in heads of a bill to enable Catholics to take leases of lives on land. This too—and other similar measures as well—failed, and they failed because of Protestant nationalist opposition.

In March, 1774, however, the supporters of the administration, at the behest of the British ministry that some conciliatory measure be passed for the Catholics, introduced a bill to enable subjects of whatever religious persuasion to attest their loyalty to the crown by taking an oath of allegiance and a declaration—subsequently approved by the bishops of Munster—denying any direct or indirect papal jurisdiction in Irish temporal affairs.[60] Obviously, this act conferred no positive benefits, but it did serve to promote the loyalty of Catholics and also facilitated their enlistment in the army at a moment of rapid deterioration in imperial and foreign affairs.[61] Moreover, it encouraged the Catholic Association, over which Lord Kenmare had presided since its revival in 1773, to seek further relief. So it was, that late in 1777 this body sought from the crown a redress of the most obnoxious grievances of the Irish Catholics; and to this end presented to Lord Lieutenant Buckingham, the petition which Burke had prepared and left with Dr. Curry in 1764.[62] Buckingham, however, regarded the demands as exorbitant and opposed favorable reaction by the crown, among other reasons, on the grounds that it might

[59] On the Bingham measure, cf. *Journal . . . Commons . . . Ireland,* XV, 167, 206, 215-216, 219, 228-229, 232; on the proposal in the Lords, *Charlemont,* I, 44.

[60] Lecky, *op. cit.,* II, 195-196; for the oath, cf. *The Statutes at Large . . . Ireland . . . 1310 . . . to 1786,* 13 vols. (Dublin, 1786), X, 589-590.

[61] W. J. Amherst, *The History of Catholic Emancipation and the Progress of the Catholic Church in the British Isles (chiefly England) from 1771 to 1820,* 2 vols. (London, 1886), I, chapter 1 ("The Acts of 1771 and 1774"), though not completely accurate concerning Burke, is an excellent commentary.

[62] Cf. above, note 35. According to Lecky, *op. cit.,* II, 197, citing *Irish Departmental Correspondence,* Irish State Paper Office as his source, the date of the petition's *submission* was October 13, 1777; had Lecky been aware of the

throw Ireland "into a flame."[63] Nevertheless, despite his advice, there were several favoring circumstances, and not less important, several gentlemen who promoted what he hesitated to sponsor.

One circumstance was the repercussions in England of the news of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. The North ministry, alarmed at the prospect of a Franco-American alliance and the possibility of even a wider extension of hostilities, besides initiating efforts to obviate such an eventuality, took steps to augment the royal forces by recruitment among the Scottish Catholic Highlanders.[64] To ascertain the disposition of the Catholic Scots in the current war, and also to learn upon what terms they would enter the army, the ministry selected Sir John Dalrymple who journeyed to Scotland and in February, 1778, conferred with their bishop, George Hay. On behalf of his adherents, Bishop Hay requested but moderate concessions—legislation allowing Catholics freedom to hear and say Mass, the enactment of guarantees against the seizure of their property on religious grounds, and the requirement from them of an unoffending oath of allegiance. Even more important subsequently than his terms was his advice that Dalrymple seek the co-operation of the English

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date of this petition's *composition,* he would have understood the reason for the inconsistency he noted therein between evidence in 1775-1776 of a decline in informers and discoverers and the petition's complaint of their increase, *ibid.,* 196-197; Lecky's comment, *ibid.,* II, 199 n., that one phrase in the petition was "curiously inaccurate" is not absolutely justified; Burke doubtless meant what Lecky says the petition should have stated; undeniably, the phraseology is awkward; for Burke on the same subject elsewhere, cf. *Works,* VI, 303. Lecky's statement, *op. cit.,* II, 212, "In the beginning of the year [1778] the Catholics had presented a petition asking for relief, . . ." is, from the source he himself cites, slightly inaccurate; doubtless what he means is that the petition of 1777 was forwarded to England early in 1778. The statement of Denis Gwynn, *The Struggle for Catholic Emancipation (1750-1829)* (London, 1928), p. 30, that the Irish Catholics in 1774 secured Burke's services to compose an address is almost certainly wrong, for the document he quotes (pp. 32-33) as being produced by Burke at this time is the petition of 1764. Gwynn's "To the 'Beginners' the Glory: Edmund Burke and Catholic Emancipation," *Catholic World,* CXXVIII (January, 1929), 385-396, is a brief sketch of Burke's entire career as it concerned Catholic emancipation.

[63] Buckingham to Lord Weymouth (Secretary of State for the Southern Department), March 4, 1778, quoted in Lecky, *op. cit.,* II, 213.

[64] Edward H. Burton, *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner (1691-1781),* 2 vols. (London, 1909), II, 183.

Catholics.[65] As for their position at this time, suffice it to say that they labored under legal restrictions analogous to those of their Irish coreligionists. While it is true that besides being spared the malevolent hostility of the Irish Ascendancy they derived some comfort from a benevolent attitude on the part of their government, they had, in more recent years, been the objects of notorious informers, particularly one John Payne, and only eleven years earlier a Father Maloney had been imprisoned for saying Mass.[66] When Dalrymple approached Bishop Richard Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, however, he found him particularly cool, as was the Catholic conveyancer, Mr. Duane—out of fear that demands on the part of the Catholics might arouse a wave of "No Popery." Consequently, Dalrymple turned elsewhere and through a certain Mr. Macnamara, whose part in the subsequent negotiations merits further investigation, he met William Sheldon, who with other laymen took the initiative on April 8 of calling a meeting of prominent English Catholics for April 11. At the same time, they began scouting the disposition of members of the ministry as well as of the leaders of the opposition, including Burke, to the relaxation of the penal code.[67]

Meanwhile in Ireland, paralleling the activity there of the Catholic Association, was a rising demand for economic relief. In its efforts to defeat the Franco-American coalition the English government had placed upon Irish export trade restrictions in excess of those long customary under the mercantilist system.[68] Whatever their value in overcoming the enemy, they brought Ireland in 1778 to the brink of bankruptcy—and rebellion. From the outset of the war, the Presbyterian element in Ireland had been strongly pro-American. In contrast, the Catholics, whose grievances were far greater, had been

[65] *Ibid.*, II, 184.

[66] W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols. (London, 1878-1890), III, 506. Lecky, who laid great stress upon the proverbial English disparity between statutory provisions and contemporary opinion and practice, *ibid.*, III, 504-508, conceded that the position of Catholics was "always one of extreme precariousness."

[67] Burton, *op. cit.*, II, 185-191. According to Burton, Challoner, whatever he may have said to Dalrymple, did compose about this time a memorandum which, far from showing timidity, advocated concessions in excess of those of Hay, *ibid.*, II, 186-187.

[68] Lecky, *Ireland*, II, 169-170.

noticeably faithful,[69] but with the spread of the war, and in consideration of an American effort to cultivate the support of Irish Catholics, there was a question as to whether that fidelity would endure.[70] It was in these circumstances that on April 2, Earl Nugent introduced in the English Parliament a bill for the relief of Irish trade. The favorable reception accorded this proposal by the government—until Lord North became more fearful of selfish domestic opposition than of Ireland's complaints—lies outside our immediate concern. Noteworthy in the debates on the Nugent proposal, however, was the intrusion of the Catholic question into the commercial question. On April 7 Thomas Townshend expressed his desire that the measures for the relief of Irish trade be given a "broader bottom" by the granting of "such indulgencies to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as might attach that great body of men to the present government. . . ." In reply to this proposal Lord North declared that he, too, desired to see something done for their relief and that he would "concur in any measure that could tend to answer so desirable an end"; on the other hand, he added, such an effort must originate in Ireland.[71]

Simultaneously the English Catholics were going forward in their efforts, and a few days later at their April 11 meeting they decided to appoint a committee for drawing up an address for presentation to the king. Though Macnamara was selected as counsel for the committee, the man who eventually drafted the address, according to the testimony of Stapleton, one of its members, was Burke—a fact, Stapleton added, which "is not known by many, and wish it may not be for the present."[72] That the final form of this address, as approved at a meeting of the Catholic Association on April 27 and received by George III on May 1, differed but slightly from Burke's draft is evident from an undated document in his handwriting—certainly his

[69] John Ridge, an old friend of Burke's in Ireland, wrote to him on September 25, 1775: "All the Protestants as far as I can see, especially the Presbyterians, except a few who have connexions in the army at Boston . . . are . . . friends to the American cause. The Roman Catholics who receive no favour, no quarter, from their fellow subjects of a different persuasion, & are indebted only to government for some lenity in the execution of the law agt. them . . . are ready to give their beggarly assistance to government . . . ," Wentworth Papers.

[70] Burton, *op. cit.*, II, 193.

[71] *The Parliamentary History of England*, 36 vols. (London, 1806-1820), XIX, 1111-1112.

[72] Burton, *op. cit.*, II, 194.

preliminary version—found in the Wentworth Papers.[73] Speaking of this address two years later, Burke told his Bristol constituents:

> In that hour of our dismay, from the bottom of the hiding-places into which the indiscriminate rigor of our statutes had driven them, came out the body of the Roman Catholics. They appeared before the steps of a tottering throne, with one of the most sober, measured, steady, and dutiful addresses that was ever presented to the crown.[74]

That at some future date Burke might be in a position to make such an observation should not, I suppose, be suggested seriously as a reason for Stapleton's desire to hide the identity of the author, for the principal consideration was to avoid his falling under any further political odium in Bristol. Already, because of his extensive efforts both in and out of Parliament for the economic relief of Ireland, he had incurred the displeasure of most of his constituents.[75] Moreover, Bristol was a stronghold of Protestant prejudice; even at the time of his candidacy, in 1774, in an effort to brand him as sympathetic to Papists, old canards, the most common of which was that he was a disguised Jesuit from St. Omer, were revived in broadsides and newspapers.[76]

Following the presentation of their address of May 1, the Catholic Committee, apparently with the encouragement of the ministry,[77] set about drafting a bill. As eventually introduced in the House of Commons on May 14, not by a government supporter, but by Sir George Savile, one of Burke's political friends, it provided relief from only the most grievous penalties and disabilities imposed on Catholics by an act passed in 1699 under William III to check the growth of Popery. By the Savile Act, on the condition of their taking an oath abjuring the Pretender and the temporal jurisdiction and deposing

[73] For the final document cf. *Parliamentary History,* XIX, 1138-1139; Burton, *op. cit.,* II, 195-196, gives still another version from the Roman Agency Papers, Southwark Archives; among the three versions there are no substantial variations.

[74] *Works,* II, 400.

[75] On Burke and Bristol, cf. Ernest Barker, *Essays on Government* (Cambridge, 1945), essay VI ("Burke and His Bristol Constituency"), pp. 155-206; also, G. E. Weare, *Edmund Burke's Connection with Bristol from 1774 till 1780 . . .* (Bristol, 1894).

[76] Weare, *op. cit.,* pp. 55-58, 60, 72; for an earlier instance of similar rumors concerning Burke, cf. *Charlemont,* I, 148-149.

[77] Burton, *op. cit.,* II, 198.

power of the Pope, priests were freed from liability to imprisonment for saying Mass and Catholics were permitted to inherit and purchase land unencumbered by any confessional limitations. No longer, for instance, could the nearest Protestant relative claim the inheritance of a Catholic heir.[78] That Burke drafted this measure, which in its restricted scope reflected the original advice of Bishop Hay to Dalrymple, was widely believed;[79] but there is no conclusive evidence to that effect. Yet, to his constituents, among whom it had been rumored that he was the mover or seconder of the bill, he did say in 1780:

> The fact is, I did not once open my lips on the subject during the whole progress of the bill. *I do not say this as disclaiming my share in that measure. Very far from it.* I inform you of this fact lest I should seem to arrogate to myself the merits which belong to others.[80]

Nevertheless, that he did give close attention to its progress through both houses, and during this very time was directing his attention even more to the relief of Irish Catholics, is evident from his correspondence. On the day the English bill was introduced, Lord Beauchamp expressed the view that the commercial relief then being planned for Ireland "would be of very little use to that country, unless it was accompanied by a repeal of their penal laws." Beauchamp hoped the measure would be "an example to the Irish parliament," whose faith, in his opinion, "was in some degree pledged for the effect of some such measure" in virtue of so many Irish Catholics having taken the oath set for them in 1774.[81] Five days later, in a letter to Edmund Pery, speaker of the Irish House of Commons, Burke, who unquestionably shared Beauchamp's sentiments, added this postscript:

> Sir George Savile's Bill . . . for the repeal of the Penal Statute of King William has gone through all the stages hitherto (today it was reported) with the most perfect unanimity, and the greatest applause. Lord Richard Cavendish's motion for repealing the Act of Queen Anne, which ties up the hands of the Irish Parliament from doing the same thing as extensively

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[78] The text of the act is printed in Burton, *op. cit.*, II, 292-294 (Appendix F).
[79] Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
[80] *Works*, II, 396; italics inserted.
[81] *Parliamentary History*, XIX, 1141.

with regard to the whole of that Kingdom, passed with the same unanimity and satisfaction.[82]

Of this latter bill, Macknight observed that it "gave Burke more peculiar pleasure than even the Bill applying to English Roman Catholics, because, without such a measure, nothing effectual could be done for Ireland," and also because of its sponsor, a brother of "one of the great Whig Dukes, who, from their position with regard to the Revolution [of 1688] . . . were vulgarly considered more directly associated with the maintenance of the penal laws. . . ."[83] Without intending to diminish in any way the generous motives of either Cavendish or some of his Whig associates, it should be noted that for several of them—who, as great landlords in Ireland, desired the fidelity of their Catholic tenants—the relief of the Irish Catholics was of intimate concern.[84]

For a period of fully three months from the date of the letter just quoted, May 19, Burke carried on with Pery and other prominent Irish statesmen a correspondence revealing in behalf of an Irish Catholic relief measure an even greater vigor and earnestness on his part than he had manifested in espousing the cause of Irish trade. Never swerving from his main objective, he exhorted his correspondents to enact a generous measure in a generous manner and advised them of the pitfalls to be avoided. When, at last, an Irish relief bill had passed, inferior though it was to what he had hoped, he acted as their principal agent in England to secure its approval by the Privy Council, and at the same time did all that he could to insure its final enactment in Ireland. Finally, in the hour of success he gave credit, almost self-effacingly, to others for an achievement which was considerably his own. This correspondence, furthermore, in view of the limited information available on the negotiations surrounding the Savile Act and in the absence of any detailed report of

[82] Burke to Pery, May 19, 1778, "Unpublished Correspondence of Burke, Grattan, and Others, with Edmund Sexton Pery, Viscount Pery" (ed. Lord Emly), *Irish Monthly*, VI (1878), 189. This, as well as the other letters cited below from the *Irish Monthly*, I have compared with photostats (in Professor Hoffman's possession) of the originals in the National Library, Dublin, which reveal a few slight variations from the printed versions.

[83] Macknight, *op. cit.*, II, 237-238; Lord Richard's brother was the Duke of Devonshire.

[84] Burton, *op. cit.*, II, 193, attributed to this concern some of the Whig support for the Savile Act—it would serve as an example for Ireland.

the debates on the Irish Catholic Relief Act, has a value apart from what it discloses about Burke and his friends.

On June 2, 1778, Burke received from Pery a letter dated May 25 (though obviously written—at least in part—on May 26), in reply to his own of the nineteenth, informing him that on the previous day (really May 25) Luke Gardiner had moved to bring in an Irish bill to follow the English example of allowing Catholics to purchase lands, but that the bill itself would not, as he said, be introduced "till we get a copy of yours."[85] That no moment might be lost, Burke replied the same day, sending to Pery a copy of the Savile Bill, then awaiting royal assent, with its amendment made in the Lords and agreed to only a few hours before by the Commons.[86] The amendment itself, which was carried by the Archbishop of Canterbury and excluded from the beneficiaries of the act those clerics who might be apprehended prior to their having taken the oath stipulated in the act,[87] he considered "foolish," for, as he added, "It has no great malice in it; and it was made that they might not appear to let a Bill about religion pass without having something to do with it." In a more serious vein he stated to Pery:

> I solemnly declare, and I trust your candour will credit me, that I should not receive the tenth part of the pleasure, in seeing myself absolute master of all the money or all the rank which Ireland has to give, that I should have in seeing the heads of a Bill which you have now before you pass into a law, entire and unadulterated with any unseemly modifications.

That this might be its fate, he probably suspected from Pery's remark that "The difficult point to carry will be to repeal the gavel clause. . . ."[88] A day or so later, confirmation arrived in a letter from John Ponsonby, another of his influential Irish correspondents, who, though he expressed the hope that the liberal sentiment would pre-

[85] Pery to Burke, May 25, 1778, Wentworth Papers; in his statement, "Mr. Gardiner moved yesterday to bring in . . . ," Pery could not have meant May 24, for Gardiner made his motion on *Monday*, May 25; cf. *Journal . . . Commons . . . Ireland*, XVIII (June 18, 1776-August 14, 1779), 414.

[86] Burke to Pery, June 2, 1778, *Irish Monthly*, VI, 189-190. That Burke at the same time sent copies of the bill to others in Ireland is well established; cf. e.g., the remark in his letter of August 25, 1778, to his cousin, Garret Nagle, *New Monthly Magazine*, XVI, 157.

[87] On the amendment, cf. Burton, *op. cit.*, II, 205-206.

[88] Pery to Burke, May 25, 1778, *loc. cit.*,

vail over prejudice, opined that there would be "a great variety of opinion as to the degree of relaxation."[89] In an effort to counteract these and other tendencies which he discerned, Burke wrote in early June to still another of his Irish acquaintances—probably Sir Lucius O'Brien—informing him that though, during the recent discussion of the Savile Act, the Attorney General had proposed the repeal of not just one but several of the English penal acts, it had been decided to confine legislation for the present to the most obnoxious of them; and he hoped that Ireland would now act likewise, for, as he said significantly, ". . . our repeal both of that Act [of King William] and of the Act of Queen Anne relative to the Irish forfeiture, *were intended ultimately for you*. . . . The whole was laid together for that purpose. Parliament wished to speak its sense, as clearly as it could without using its authority, to Ireland. . . ." On the "great fundamental point" of giving property the same security and freedom in every British dominion, he testified, "Whigs and Tories, Ministry and Opposition, Bishops and Presbyterians were perfectly agreed." In conclusion, he added that the inclination of some gentlemen in Ireland to retain "the penal Gavelkind for the dissipation of property" he could but regard as a continuation of the old custom "of making the laws about property for the purpose of propagating religious tenets, and upholding religious parties."[90]

By June 15 Burke had learned still more of the variety of the Irish opinions from Pery who, in sending him a copy of the bill then under consideration in Ireland, observed that it included certain clauses not found in the Savile Act.[91] One of these, making special provision for the inheritance and support of the Protestant children of a Catholic parent, was, Pery confided to Burke, "penned by our Chancellor,[92] but this . . . you will not mention as coming from me." "If anything is more exceptionable than the Idea," added Pery, "it is the execution of it; I think it is impossible the clause should pass in the shape it is,

[89] Ponsonby to Burke, May 27, 1778, Wentworth Papers.

[90] Photostat of an unfinished copy of an undated letter to an unidentified correspondent, 1778, National Library, Dublin, italics inserted; from internal evidence, the author was Burke, the date was early June, and the correspondent very likely Sir Lucius O'Brien. The Attorney General referred to was Lord Thurlow who, on June 2, 1778, became Lord Chancellor of Great Britain.

[91] Pery to Burke, June 8, 1778, Wentworth Papers; this letter is a reply to Burke's of June 2.

[92] James Hewitt, Viscount Lifford, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1767-1789.

indeed I think it ought not to pass in any shape; however, it may be necessary to temporize with certain weak minds. . . ." Burke may have agreed, but in his reply of June 16 he observed to Pery, "You have a gigantic prejudice to encounter. . . . It is no trifling measure to restore to civil society so many hundred thousands of human creatures, who, without any guilt, are made slaves under a constitution of freedom." He then added what was surely one of his sharpest thrusts at the efforts of government to weaken Catholicism in Ireland as well as one of his shrewdest comments upon human affairs:

> I had much rather see the act without the clause about the children. . . . It . . . shows an hankering after our old unfortunate system of promoting the purity of religion by the corruption of morality. To corrupt family relations is to poison fountains; for the sources of the commonwealth are within the households, and errors there are irretrievable. The interest which a community has in its morals is much greater than is commonly imagined; and when the laws endeavour to subvert that, which with all their force they are scarcely able to sustain, degeneracy will proceed with an accelerated motion, and the state will be precipitated along with its manners. The family ties are already too much relaxed among all denominations of men in our countries and times. . . . We do not give credit enough to our original and genuine affections. Nature is no bad chancellor. There will be always a leaning towards devices and contrivances of this kind, until the very principle from whence they arise is cut out of our hearts. . . . That is, until the governing power, whoever he may be, is thoroughly convinced that it is the sole business of his office to make his people happy and prosperous, and not to convert them to any system of theology—that he is to be their ruler and not their apostle.[93]

Before Pery could have received this communication he had already written once, probably twice,[94] to Burke, informing him not only of some of the arguments brought forward by opponents of the measure but also of amendments proposed and rejected as well as of two very important ones that had been carried. The first of these was the substitution, in place of the original proposal allowing Catholics to purchase land outright, of a clause limiting them to the taking of land on lease for 999 years; the other of greater consequence was the inclusion, upon the motion of Sir Edward Newenham, of a clause relieving Dissenters from taking the sacramental test.

[93] Burke to Pery, June 16, 1778, *Irish Monthly*, VI, 190-191.
[94] Cf. letters of Burke to Pery cited below, note 95.

That within a span of three days, June 24 to 26, Burke wrote to Pery no less than four replies,[95] is additional evidence, were any needed, of his deep concern in the fate of the Gardiner Bill. With the news that one of the objections raised against it was that it was too much like the Savile Act, he was obviously perplexed, for, as he observed, "I remember it was the universal opinion, that our taking the first step was essential to the success of the measure, and that our holding back would be fatal to it. It is odd that our favourable or unfavourable opinion of the plan should both equally work against it."[96] Though he rather lightheartedly congratulated his friend with the remark, "I hope there will be long memory of your services—a lease at least of 999 years,"[97] he was very apprehensive at the information he received. The lease clause itself he considered rather ridiculous and as having no real purpose, unless it was intended—and this he suspected—as a device whereby the Catholics might be deprived in reality of the very benefits they were apparently to receive.[98] But what most disturbed him was the test clause. "I take it for granted," he wrote, "that this affair has been thrust in to destroy the Bill and for no other purpose."[99] That this assumption was correct, there is more than sufficient evidence;[100] and Newenham's supporters came, as we shall see, perilously close to success, for the danger which confronted the bill once it arrived in England was its complete rejection because of the clause removing the test for Dissenters. That Burke himself, despite his dissatisfaction with the alterations that had been made in the Irish bill, was especially anxious to surmount any objections which might be raised against it by the English government, is clear from his requesting Pery to advise Mr. Macnamara who, he said, "naturally has the conduct of business before the Council and with

[95] Three of these letters (June 24, 25, 26) are printed in the *Irish Monthly*, VI, 193-195, though the date of that of June 26 is given as June 20—an error which a photostat of the original proves; the fourth letter, also dated June 26, is known only from a copy in the Wentworth Papers.

[96] Letter of June 25 ,1778, *loc. cit.*

[97] Letter of June 26, 1778, *Irish Monthly*.

[98] Letter of June 24, 1778, *loc. cit.*

[99] Letter of June 25, 1778, *loc. cit.*

[100] Lecky, *Ireland*, II, 215, basing his account on communications of June 20 and June 25 from Buckingham to Weymouth, stated, "The Test Clause was supported partly by the genuine friends of the Presbyterians, and partly by a small body of whom Lord Shannon and Lord Ely were the leaders, who were hostile to the whole Bill, and who imagined that the new clause would introduce

the Crown Lawyers," of the probable admissibility of alterations by the Irish Parliament.[101]

By the time Pery's reply of July 1 to the above batch of letters reached Burke—and this could not have been earlier than Monday, July 6—much had transpired. On July 3, when most certainly he had already examined the copy of the Irish Toleration Bill sent to him by Pery after its passage by both the Commons and Lords,[102] Burke received at his home in Beaconsfield a letter from Alexander Wedderburne, the new Attorney General, who had the bill under advisement, requesting information on the history of the test in Ireland.[103] Not only did Burke comply with Wedderburne's request the very same day, but he took advantage of the opportunity to recommend the approval of the whole bill.[104] Moreover, he went up to London, where, though he was unable to see Lord Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor, he did press his views on Solicitor General Wallace, and at the Treasury on Sir Grey Cooper. Of the latter he wrote to Pery, at the end of what was, indeed, a busy day, "I have told him for Lord N. [North] a great deal of my opinion relative to the effectual mode of pressing the Bill; the most material part of which is, that the Lord ought to take your opinion and advice in every part of the progress of this business. What his Lordship will do I know not, but the proposition did not seem to be ill received."[105] Had this visit occurred a few days later, Burke could have told Cooper more explicitly what the Irish Speaker's opinion and advice was, for in his

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such an element of dissension that it would be wrecked. . . ." Also Gardiner to Burke, August 11, 1778, *Corr.*, II, 235: "The insertion of the clause for the repeal of the sacramental test, was another manoeuvre for the purpose of destroying the bill."

101 Letter of June 26, 1778, Wentworth Papers.

102 Cf. letter of Pery to Burke, July 1, 1778, *Corr.*, II, 223-234.

103 Wedderburne to Burke, July 2, 1778, *Corr.*, II, 226-227; letter of Burke to Pery, dated "18th July, 1776," *Works*, VI, 199. This letter, *Works*, VI, 199-206, as its contents clearly reveal, could not possibly have been written before July 21, which probably explains Pery's not having received by July 28 a letter which Burke on July 17 promised he would send on July 18; cf. Pery to Burke, July 28, 1776, *Corr.*, II, 230. Why Burke antedated his letter is not evident.

104 *Works*, VI, 200.

105 Burke to Pery, July 3, 1778, photostat of original in the National Library, Dublin; it was not published in the *Irish Monthly*.

letter of July 1 Pery had stressed above all the need for "the most explicit directions" and "the most determined language" from the North ministry to the government supporters in Ireland, so that, whether the Dissenters' clause was retained or rejected in England, the relief of the Catholics would be enacted.[106]

The most likely date of Burke's next visit to London was July 9 when he again missed Lord Thurlow but did learn from Macnamara not only that the test clause but, because of it, the whole bill was likely to be rejected by the Privy Council.[107] Whether he received this information on that Thursday (July 9) or one week later, on July 16, when he most certainly was in the city, is not clear from the correspondence. But on this latter date and on the following day he went to even greater lengths than he had on July 3 to prevent the Irish measure's being rejected. Once again, not finding Thurlow at home, he went to the Treasury where, as he later wrote Pery, he reminded Cooper "of the understood compact between parties, upon which the whole scheme of the toleration originating in the English bill was formed, of the fair part which the Whigs had acted in a business which, *though first started by them,* was supposed equally acceptable to all sides, and the risk . . . they took upon themselves, when others declined it."[108] From the Treasury he went to Lord North's and then in the evening to Lord Thurlow's. Both he found opposed to the bill. Whereas the Prime Minister objected principally to the Dissenters' clause, the Chancellor expressed a preference for a "better digested plan" for Catholic relief—a position very similar to that which he had taken earlier as Attorney General during the debate on the Savile Act.[109] Though Burke argued at some length with Lord North for an approval of the whole bill, he finally shifted his stand to a request for at least the core of the bill. But what is of more significance, is that in his efforts to sway both ministers, Burke read to each of them a letter of Pery's of July 10, of which the following is but a portion:

One of the great arts of government is to watch opportunities and to make use of them; if they are neglected, they are irrecoverable. Such I

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[106] Pery to Burke, July 1, 1778, *Corr.,* II, 224.
[107] *Works,* VI, 200.
[108] *Works,* VI, 201, italics inserted.
[109] Cf. above, p. 406; Thurlow became Lord Chancellor on June 2, 1778.

take the present time to be, with respect to the Roman Catholics. . . . By a great number of fortuitous circumstances, almost all parties have united in the present bill. If it is lost, I despair of ever seeing the like combination of circumstances again; and you may be assured that every future attempt to relieve them will meet with a much more formidable opposition than the present.[110]

Returning to Beaconfield, however, Burke had a considerable qualm of conscience for the unauthorized use he had made of his friend's communication and one of the purposes of his next letter to Pery was to justify, as best he could on the basis of circumstances, the liberty he had taken.[111] But so distressed was he by his conferences in London concerning the bill that he once again appealed to Cooper, this time in writing, to remind him of "the principles upon which we went in our conversation, and to press the plan which was suggested for carrying them into execution."[112] By the time Burke wrote to Pery he was able to assure him that not only had Cooper received this letter but also on July 20 had replied that it had made a strong impression on the Prime Minister.[113] Whether it was Burke's repeated pleas or, as Dr. Curry later suggested,[114] the favorable impression made upon George III by the Irish Catholic petition of 1777—Burke's petition of 1764—that was ultimately responsible for the Privy Council's return of the bill to Ireland, though shorn of the test clause, remains unknown, but that our eminent friend had played a very decisive role is beyond question.[115]

In early August, as the bill moved through the two Irish houses, Burke received and acknowledged information concerning these last steps toward its enactment. To Pery who had advised him of its passage by the Commons on August 5 he replied a week later:

It gave me great pleasure to find, as I do from many accounts, that without derogating from the talents of the gentlemen who dissented from the

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110 *Works*, VI, 204; Pery to Burke, July 10, 1778, *Corr.*, II, 228.

111 *Works*, VI, 199.

112 *Works*, VI, 205.

113 *Ibid.*

114 Curry to Burke, August 18, 1778, *Corr.*, II, 237-238.

115 As the bill arrived back in Dublin on July 27 (cf. Pery to Burke, July 28, 1778, *Corr.*, II, 230), the English Privy Council could have taken final action on it no later than July 22.

Toleration Act, the far greater weight of the abilities and eloquence of the House was on the side where eloquence and ability ought ever to be—on the side of liberty and justice. You are now beginning to have a country; and I trust you will complete the design. . . . I am persuaded that when that thing called a country is once formed in Ireland, quite other things will be done, than were done whilst the zeal of men was turned to the safety of a party, and whilst they thought its interests provided for in the distress and destruction of everything else. . . .[116]

On August 11, when its passage by the House of Lords was assured, both Gardiner and Lord Kenmare wrote to Burke—as did later both Pery and Curry—their appreciation for his valuable contribution to the bill's success.[117] In the letters of August 11 the most interesting information was in that of Lord Kenmare, the leader of the Catholic Association, who reminded Burke that but for the support of John Hely-Hutchinson, Sir Lucius O'Brien, Denis Daly, and others, who, he said, "except in this national affair, are in constant opposition," the measure would not have surmounted its last obstacle, despite all the influence of Dublin Castle—which, incidentally, Kenmare attributed to its belated realization that the fate of the bill was closely connected with that of its own authority.

Be that as it may, Burke felt that the credit should go to those most deserving it, and especially to Luke Gardiner, to whom he wrote:

You very much over value my feeble endeavours to do my duty . . . to Ireland. It only shows with what sincerity you love your country, when you rate so highly the slightest attempts to serve it. You have indeed made Ireland doubly dear to me by your excellent bill . . . and I trust that you will live to see and enjoy the good you have done, in the total extinction of all spirit of party which has religious opinion for its principle.[118]

That Burke described as an "excellent bill" a measure falling so short of what he favored, must be considered a tribute more to what it

[116] Burke to Pery, August 12, 1778, *Irish Monthly*, VI, 196-197.

[117] Gardiner to Burke, August 11, 1778, *Corr.*, II, 233-237; Kenmare to Burke, August 11, 1778, Wentworth Papers.

[118] Manuscript letter by Burke (dated August, 1778) in the possession of the Morgan Library, New York City; cf. also Ross J. S. Hoffman and Paul Levack, *Burke's Politics* (New York, 1949), p. 164, where the letter is quoted in part. Gardiner has been identified as the correspondent from internal evidence; cf. the letter of Gardiner to Burke, August 11, 1778, *loc. cit.*

represented as a triumph over certain forces in Irish politics than to what it actually achieved. In substance what the Irish Catholic Relief Act of 1778 provided was that henceforth Catholics could enjoy their property on the same basis as other Irishmen, without the threat of being imposed upon by renegade children and that they could bequeath it without the limitation of gavelkind. On the other hand, though they might acquire land on leases not exceeding 999 years, they still could not purchase the freehold. Moreover, these concessions were granted only upon the condition of one's taking the oath set forth in the act of 1774, and even then they were not available to converts to Catholicism, nor even to Catholics who once having been Protestants had returned to the Roman fold.[119]

About a year later, when an act relieving Irish Dissenters from the sacramental test had already been enacted, but a bill for the relief of Scottish Catholics analogous to the English and Irish acts of 1778 had been abandoned owing to a public hostility preshadowing the infamous Gordon riots of 1780, the members of the Catholic Association in Dublin voted Burke 500 guineas as a mark of their gratitude.[120] Returning the 300 which had already been sent him as an advance, he suggested to his old friend Dr. Curry that it might be better used toward the education of Irish Catholic youth.[121] For himself and especially his English political friends, to whom, he told Curry, "you owe the whole, or very nearly the whole, of what has been done both here and in Ireland," he asked no fawning gratitude but only an avoidance by the Irish Catholics of a base servility to the court. Then, assessing the relationship of his own career with the past and future of Ireland's Catholics, he wrote:

> My endeavours in the Irish business, in which I was, indeed, very active and very earnest . . . were wholly guided by an uniform principle, which is interwoven in my nature . . .—I mean an utter abhorrence of all kinds of public injustice and oppression; the worst species of which are those, which being converted into maxims of state, and blending themselves with law and jurisprudence, corrupt the very fountains of all equity, and sub-

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[119] *The Statutes at large . . . Ireland . . . 1310 . . . to 1786,* XI, 298-301; for the oath, *ibid.,* X, 589-590.

[120] Curry to Burke, August 6, 1779, and Anthony Dermott to Burke, August 9, 1779, *Corr.,* II, 281-282, 290.

[121] Burke to Curry, August 14, 1779, *Corr.,* II, 291-295.

vert all the purposes of government. From these principles, I have ever had a particular detestation to the penal system of Ireland, and I am yet very far from satisfied with what has been done towards correcting it—which I consider as no more than a good beginning.

Fordham University

MISCELLANY

THE CALIFORNIA CHRONICLE OF FRANCIS SADOC VILARRASA, O.P., 1850-1874

By

Paul M. Starrs*

On the night of December 6, 1850,[1] the steamer *Columbus* sailed into San Francisco Bay carrying among her passengers the newly appointed Bishop of California, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., and two fellow Dominicans who had come with him to establish their order in the newly-admitted state, Sister Mary Goemaere, foundress of the Dominican Sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Name, whose motherhouse is now located at San Rafael, and Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa, O.P., the founder of the Province of the Holy Name of the Order of Preachers.

The document which follows is a translation of a "Chronicle" written by Father Vilarrasa, in which he records the history of the first twenty-four years of his work in establishing the Dominican friars in California. However, before presenting the text of the "Chronicle" a few words about Vilarrasa and his document will not be out of place.

Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa[2] was born on August 9, 1814, in the little town of La Pobla de Lillet in Catalonia. He entered the Order of Preachers at the convent of St. Catherine in Barcelona at a very early age, and on September 23, 1830,[3] he made his religious profession which was perpetual and solemn according to the law then in force in the order. It is

* Father Starrs, O.P., is professor of ecclesiastical history in the College of St. Albert.

[1] There has been some confusion over the date of the arrival of Bishop Alemany and his party. As we shall see, Vilarrasa himself gives the date as December 7. The truth of the matter seems to be that the ship entered the harbor at eleven o'clock on the night of the sixth, but that the passengers did not disembark until the following morning. For a recent description of the arrival of the Alemany party cf. John B. McGloin, S.J., *Eloquent Indian* (Stanford, 1949), pp. 14-18, where excerpts from the newspapers of the day are given.

[2] A brief sketch of the life of Vilarrasa appeared in the *Acta* of the Biennial Congregation of California for the year 1888. A manuscript copy of these *Acta* is preserved in the Archives of the Province of the Holy Name (hereafter APOP). They were printed in San Francisco in the same year. The biography of Vilarrasa is on pages 12-14 of the printed text.

[3] The profession book of the convent of St. Catherine of Barcelona contains the following entry: "Die 25 mensis Septembris, anni 1830, hora nona cum

worthy of note that this profession took place just six weeks after he had completed his sixteenth year, that age being the minimum required for a valid religious profession.

After his profession the young religious evidently remained in the convent of St. Catherine where he completed the philosophical curriculum and began the study of theology. The register entitled "Nombres y appelidos de los religiosos y religiosas de la Provincia de Aragón" indicated that on December 16, 1832, he was still in that convent.[4] A copy of the *Calendar* or *Ordo* of the Province of Aragon for the year 1834, now in the archives of the Province of the Holy Name, bears the note on the title page that it is granted to Brother Sadoc Vilarrasa y Costa of the convent of St. Catherine of Barcelona for his use, and at the end of this *Ordo* there is, in Vilarrasa's handwriting, a list of the religious who died during the year in "this convent of St. Catherine of Barcelona."

By the summer of 1834 religious persecution had begun in Spain and in July of that year the Dominican convent in Madrid was attacked and several religious killed while reciting the office in choir. By spring of the following year the persecution was widespread in the provinces, and on July 25, 1835, several religious houses in Barcelona, the convent of St. Catherine among them, were attacked by mobs and burned. Eighteen religious were killed during these riots.[5]

Faced with this situation, Vilarrasa, together with other members of the Aragon Province of the Dominicans, among them Joseph Sadoc Alemany, availed himself of the invitation of the Master General of the Order, Father Thomas Cipoletti, to come to Italy. The year 1836 found Vilarrasa

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dimidio matutina in aula capitulari hujus conventus S^{ae} Catharinae V^{e} et M^{e} Barchinonensis in manibus A.R.P. Mtri Fr. Joannis Geius (?) Prioris ejusdem solemnem emisserunt professionem uti filii praefati Conventus . . . Fr. Franciscus Sadocus Villarassa [*sic*] baptizatus in parochiali ecclesia S^{ae} Mariae de la Pobla de Lillet, Diocesis Salsoncinensis die 10 Augusti 1814."

[4] The entry is as follows: "Convento de S^{a} Catalina V y M de Barcelona en 16 de Diciembre de 1832 . . . n^{o} 55, Sadoch Vilarrasa, edad 19, professio 3." There were seventy-eight religious in the convent at that time, Brother Sadoc occupying the fifty-fifth place in the order of religious profession.

[5] E. Allison Peers in his *Spain, the Church and the Orders* (London, 1939), p. 70, gives the following information: "These [repercussions in the provinces] began in April 1835 at Saragossa and were continually repeated during the summer. . . . On July 22 Franciscan and Carmelite houses were destroyed at Reus. Three days later took place the worst of all the outbreaks—that of Barcelona. In the initial attack, eighteen religious were killed and the houses of Carmelites, Dominicans, Augustinians and Trinitarians were burned to the ground."

at the convent of La Quercia near Viterbo where he continued his theological studies.[6] He was ordained to the priesthood in 1837. O'Daniel noted that "his first signature for saying Mass is on May 18, 1837" and he concluded that this "most likely means that he was ordained the day previous, and by Archbishop (later Cardinal) Gaspar Bernard Pianetti of Viterbo."[7] Vilarrasa remained in La Quercia for two years and during this time exercised the office of assistant to the master of novices. In 1839 he was sent to Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome where in 1841 he took the Dominican degree of lector in sacred theology. He then returned to La Quercia where he again filled the office of assistant to the master of novices and where he taught theology.[8]

It is said that Vilarrasa had under him as novices at La Quercia Fathers Alexandre Vincent Jandel, who was to become in 1850 vicar general and in 1855 master general of the order, and Henri Dominique Lacordaire.[9] This statement is borne out by the dates given by O'Daniel[10] for the two periods during which Vilarrasa filled the position of assistant novice master. Lacordaire received the habit at the Minerva in Rome on April 9, 1839,[11] and arrived at La Quercia to begin his canonical novitiate a few days later. Since Vilarrasa did not go to the Minerva until the opening of the academic year in the fall of 1839, he would have spent several months with the future restorer of the order in France. Jandel received the habit on May 15, 1841,[12] and would have been in the midst of his novitiate when Vilarrasa returned from the Minerva with the lectorate to resume his duties as assistant master of novices.

Vilarrasa remained at La Quercia until the fall of 1844. O'Daniel noted that his last Mass listed there was on September 26, and concluded that it was then that he started his journey to the United States.[13] Father George A. J. Wilson, Provincial of St. Joseph's Province in the United States, was in Europe at the time and it was no doubt due to association with him that Vilarrasa volunteered for the American mission. He embarked at Le Havre on November 17, 1844, having as his traveling com-

[6] Cf. Victor Francis O'Daniel, O.P., *The Dominican Province of Saint Joseph* (New York, 1942), p. 173.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

[9] Cf. the sketch in the *Acta congregationis biennalis 1888 . . . celebratae* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 12.

[10] O'Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[11] Cf. Angelus Walz, O.P., *Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1947), p. 557.

[12] Cf. Hyacinthe-Marie Cormier, *Vie du réveréndissime Père Alexandre-Vincent Jandel* (Paris, 1896), p. 87.

[13] O'Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

panions Fathers Januarius Mannes D'Arco and James Aloysius Orengo, two Italian Dominicans who had also volunteered to go to America, and Fathers Langdon Thomas Grace and Nicholas Raymond Young, members of St. Joseph's Province who had been sent to Italy to complete their studies and had just been granted the Dominican lectorate in sacred theology.[14]

Father Vilarrasa himself gives us some account of the journey in a letter written to his family from St. Joseph's Priory near Somerset, Ohio, and dated January 12, 1845. He wrote:

> . . . After forty-eight days of sailing and without having encountered any danger, we landed at New York, thank God. We disembarked on January 3, at midday. On the ninth in the afternoon we arrived at Somerset, half an hour's ride from this convent, which is, one might say, built in the middle of the woods.

He gave other details of the trip, noting that they left New York at four o'clock in the afternoon of the day of their arrival and went by train to Philadelphia, where they remained till the sixth and then traveled to Baltimore, remaining there only over night. From there they traveled about 300 miles by rail to a city, "the name of which I do not remember." The rest of the journey to Somerset was made by stagecoach, and "after two days and nights of continual running and bumping" they arrived at Somerset.[15]

Two weeks after his arrival at St. Joseph's, Vilarrasa was "again in the novitiate" having been put in charge of the eight novices in the convent.[16] He did not remain long in this office, however, for before the end of the year 1845 Father Joseph T. Jarboe resigned as prior of St. Joseph's and Vilarrasa was chosen to take his place.[17] He ruled the growing community in Ohio until 1849 when, in company with Alemany he sailed for Europe, having been chosen as definitor to represent St. Joseph's Province at the general chapter to be held at Naples. It is at this point that his chronicle began.

Three copies of this document exist at the present time. Two are in the archives of Holy Name Province, while a third is in the archives

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[15] *Revista Católica*, VI (June, 1845), 526-527. Eight letters written by Vilarrasa—four from Ohio, two from San Francisco, and two from Monterey—were published between the years 1845-1852 in the *Revista Católica*, a review devoted to the missions and published at Barcelona.

[16] Letter of Vilarrasa dated April 5, 1845, *Revista Católica*, VI (June, 1845), 529.

[17] O'Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

of the master general in Rome. One of the copies in the provincial archives is evidently a first draft, for a great many corrections and additions are made to it. The manuscript of this first draft is incomplete, ending with the entry for 1868. Evidently the last page has been lost. The second copy is made from this corrected draft. The copy in the master general's archives is almost identical with this second revision. All three copies are done in Vilarrasa's own careful script and the work is in simple but correct Latin. In its finished form the "Chronicle" fills twelve pages of ruled paper 7½ x 11 inches in size.

The "Chronicle" is not a record of the events noted at the time they occurred, but was written all at once, evidently at the end of 1873. The second draft was dated December 31, 1873, but then two entries for 1874 were added and the date changed to February 12, 1874. In the translation of the "Chronicle" which follows an attempt has been made to be as literal as is in keeping with good English usage. Such notes have been added as could be gathered from the sources now available.

College of St. Albert
Oakland

CHRONICLE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ORDER OF FRIARS PREACHERS IN CALIFORNIA

California is a region situated in the western part of North America, extending along the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and is divided into Upper and Lower California. The lower or southern part, which properly bears the name of the peninsula of California, is under the Mexican government, while the upper or northern part, beginning with the city of San Diego and going north, constitutes one of the states of the republic of the United States of North America. This state, famous for its deposits of gold, possesses a climate that is extremely healthful and pleasing, and soil that is almost everywhere fertile, and has made such rapid advances both as to the number of its inhabitants and their culture that scarcely any similar example is found in history. At the time of the domination of Spain, there were some very flourishing missions there, where many thousands of Indians were educated in religion, the arts, and civil life. Toward the end of the period of Spanish domination the missions of Upper California were committed to the Fathers Minor of the Observance; the missions of Lower California, to our Fathers of the Mexican Province. These missions, however, when they were secularized by the Mexican government in 1837 and their administration removed

from the care of the Fathers, began to decline so rapidly that by the year 1846 they had almost completely disappeared.

In the year 1840, on October 4, Father Francis Garcia Diego, of the Order of Minors of the Observance, was consecrated the first Bishop of both Californias. He died in the city of Santa Barbara on April 30, 1846.

The following has been transcribed from the Acts of the General Chapter of our Order held at Rome in 1777, which are conserved in the Archives of the Most Reverend Master of the Order:[1]

We announce that the Catholic King of the Spanish, Charles III, in accordance with his singular kindness toward our Order, has assigned to the Brethren of our Province of St. James of Mexico the care of 14 missions in the region of California, and that 23 priests of our Order, together with two lay-brothers went there at the royal expense, and these, having landed there, began to cultivate the vineyard granted to them with such solicitude that in a short time with the help of God they had led more than two thousand idolators to the Christian religion and had erected two new missions. Wherefore we are led to hope that it may happen that all those barbarians may be led from the miserable servitude of the demons to the knowledge and worship of the one true God.

1849[2]

We must not, above all, omit from this Chronicle mention of Father Peter Augustine Anderson, an American by nationality and a convert to the Catholic faith from Protestantism. He was a member of the Prov-

[1] The first draft of the "Chronicle" originally began with the entry for the year 1850. The first three paragraphs of the text as given here were written on a separate page and are pasted to the top of the original first page, above the title. The actual text from the *Acta* of the general chapter does not appear, probably because Vilarrasa had a copy of it at hand and did not wish to bother copying it out in this first rough draft. The first sentence of this addition originally read: "California is a peninsula of the Pacific Ocean, divided into an upper and a lower part." This is corrected in pencil to the reading here given which appears thus also in the second and third drafts.

[2] This paragraph on Father Anderson is on a page marked *Addenda* in the original draft.

Many of the details concerning Anderson and his work in California will probably always remain a mystery. Brief notes on him are given in Victor Francis O'Daniel, O.P., *The Dominican Province of Saint Joseph* (New York, 1942), p. 84, and in Henry L. Walsh, S.J,. *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails* (Santa Clara, 1946), pp. 447-448, 514. John B. McGloin, S.J., also contributed an article on Anderson to the special issue of the *Superior California Catholic Herald,* April 28, 1950, wherein is commemorated the centenary of the first Mass in Sacramento. The following facts on Father Anderson seem certain: He was born in New Jersey in 1817 (not 1812 as McGloin says). He was professed in the Dominican Order at St. Rose's Priory, Kentucky, on August 4,

ince of St. Joseph in North America and in the year 1849, having obtained permission from his superiors to devote himself to the missions, traveled to California for the purpose of establishing the Order there if possible. There in those difficult times he exercised the sacred ministry with indefatigable zeal, never sparing himself anything. He erected the first church[3] in the city of Sacramento under the title of St. Rose of Lima. He was in San Francisco and suffering from ill health when he heard that the plague which is called cholera had broken out in the city of Sacramento, and though another priest[4] offered to go there, our Anderson, even though himself sick, immediately hastened to that city with evident danger to his life and there indeed shortly afterward, stricken by the plague and duly fortified by the Sacraments, died a victim of charity on November

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1833, and was ordained to the priesthood there on April 4, 1840, by Bishop Richard P. Miles, O.P., Bishop of Nashville, who as prior of St. Rose had received his profession almost seven years before. He spent some time at St. Joseph's Priory in Ohio (not St. Joseph's in New Jersey as Walsh states, *op. cit.*, p. 514, n. 268). Walsh says that he resigned as procurator of St. Joseph's in September, 1846, and from this time until September 24, 1847, was in Canada and came over the plains in 1849 (*ibid.*). O'Daniel says that he was sent to California in 1849 by Father Alemany who was then provincial; but that while in New York awaiting passage to Panama, he became aware of the plight of the Irish immigrants in Canada who were dying of ship fever and went there to aid them, thus delaying his arrival in California until "about the summer of 1850" (*op. cit.*, p. 84).

[3] In a letter written from San Francisco on December 18, 1850 [*Revista Católica*, XVIII (April, 1851), 356] Vilarrasa says that Anderson had "*already begun* to build a church in Sacramento" (italics mine). Walsh (*op. cit.*, p. 447) says: "According to Doctor Gregory Phelan, a Catholic pioneer, who had been the city physician from 1849, and who resided in Sacramento for the following forty years, Father Anderson said Mass wherever he could upon his arrival in Sacramento, but the Catholics shortly secured for him a frame structure on S Street near Fifth, which was fitted up as a chapel with a sort of sacristy in back which served as a temporary residence for the priest." Then, less than a month before Anderson's death, Peter Burnett, the first Governor of California and a convert to Catholicism, deeded to the parish the block bounded by Seventh and Eighth, and J and K Streets. The governor headed a committee to provide for a church building which was almost completed by November 26 when it collapsed in a violent windstorm.

The fallen structure was rebuilt by Anderson's successor and was dedicated by Archbishop Alemany on February 23, 1851. Cf. Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

[4] Probably Father Anthony Langlois, then pastor of St. Francis of Assisi Church in San Francisco and vicar for the northern part of the Diocese of California. Walsh records that Langlois assisted Anderson on his deathbed (*ibid.*).

27, 1850, in the 33rd[5] year of his life and the 17th[5] of his religious profession. His body, which was first buried in the church erected by him, was transferred to Benicia in the month of October, 1854, and there the exequies were carried out according to the ritual of the Order and he was buried beneath the church.[6]

1850

In the year 1850 on June 30 the Very Reverend Father Joseph Sadoc Alemany, a son of the convent of Vich of the Province of Aragon in Spain, assigned in the Province of St. Joseph of the United States of North America, and at that time the Prior Provincial of that Province, while on his way to the elective General Chapter convoked at Naples,[7] spent some time in Rome and was consecrated Bishop of Monterey by His Eminence Cardinal Fransoni in the church of St. Charles *al Corso*.[8]

(Father Charles Pius Montgomery, ex-Provincial of our Province of St. Joseph, had been named Bishop of Monterey, but refused to accept the bishopric.)[9]

Monterey is a city of Upper California, founded by the Spaniards and was, at the time of the Spanish domination, the capital of California.

Since I, Brother Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa, a son of the convent of Barcelona of the Province of Aragon, also assigned in the Province of St. Joseph of the United States of North America, and elected a definitor

[5] In the original draft blanks were left in these places and the figures inserted later.

[6] Anderson's body now lies in the community cemetery in Benicia.

[7] This chapter was never held. Early in 1850 Father Vincent Ajello, then master general, was obliged to flee from Rome as a result of political unrest there. On October 1 Pope Pius IX in a letter to the whole order declared that the general chapter could not be held under the circumstances and appointed Jandel as vicar general of the order. Cf. Angelus Walz, O.P., *Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1947), p. 523. Hyacinthe-Marie Cormier, *Vie du réveréndissime Père Alexandre-Vincent Jandel* (Paris, 1896), pp. 179 ff. D. A. Mortier, O.P., *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des frères precheurs* (Paris, 1903-1914), VII, 482 ff.

[8] O'Daniel (*op. cit.*, p. 171, n. 12) declares himself puzzled as to which of the Roman churches bearing the name of St. Charles was the scene of this consecration. He is evidently not aware of Vilarrasa's designation of it as St. Charles *al Corso* which makes it clear that it is the St. Charles on the Corso Umberto just a few blocks from the Piazza del Populo and near the Mausoleum of Augustus.

[9] This paragraph does not appear at all in the first draft. It is written in at the top of page 3 of the second draft. On Montgomery cf. O'Daniel, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72, and *passim*.

to the same General Chapter from the aforementioned Province of St. Joseph, was then at Rome, Bishop Alemany, before his consecration, invited me to accompany him to California. I freely gave my assent to this invitation, with, however, this express condition, that I should not go there for any other reason than that I might provide for the spread of the Order there. This condition he accepted, and by letters given at Rome on July 18, 1850, the Most Reverend Father Jerome Gigli, Vicar General of the Master of the Order, assigned me to the missions of California under the obedience of Bishop Alemany, giving power to the aforementioned Bishop or to the temporary superior to assign me to any convent or house whatsoever within the boundaries of the aforementioned mission.

At my request and that of Bishop Alemany, the Most Reverend Gigli, by a rescript dated July 21, 1850, granted authority to erect a new Province of the Order under the title of the Most Holy Name of Jesus of both Californias, and granted other things for the ruling of that same Province,[10] which, since they were revoked by the Most Reverend Master of the Order by the Encyclical dated July 30, 1864, can be omitted here.[11]

On December 7, 1850, Bishop Alemany and I landed at the city of San Francisco. A Belgian Sister, by name Mary of the Cross Goemaere, professed in the Third Order at Paris, came with us with the intention of founding a monastery of the Third Order for the education of girls.[12]

[10] Neither this rescript nor the letter of July 18 can be found in the provincial archives. A search of the master general's archives has also thus far failed to uncover them.

[11] This subsequent revocation may explain the absence of the rescript from the archives. It is possible that the document was destroyed when it ceased to have legal force. The encyclical of July 30, 1864, will be discussed later.

[12] Father Vilarrasa gives a detailed account of the entire journey in a letter written from San Francisco, December 14, 1850 [*Revista Católica*, XVIII (April, 1851), 354]. The principal events are as follows:

In Toulouse Vilarrasa was joined by two sisters from the Dominican convent there who wished to go to Somerset. On August 26 they left Toulouse and met Bishop Alemany in Paris two days later. The bishop had meanwhile obtained a volunteer for the California missions in the person of Sister Mary Goemaere, a novice about to make profession at the Dominican convent of the Holy Cross in Paris. On August 30 Alemany departed for Ireland, hoping to gain some recruits for his diocese from the clergy there. On September 3 Vilarrasa and the nuns set out for Boulogne and from there sailed for England. After a few days in London they went to Liverpool where they met Bishop Alemany on the eleventh and that same day sailed for New York on the *Columbus*, a sailing ship. The trip was uneventful. The two priests were able to say Mass "the greater part of the time" and on Sundays the bishop preached to about 500 passengers and members of the crew.

They arrived in New York on October 11. Vilarrasa took the two nuns from

1851

The most Reverend Father Alexandre Vincent Jandel, Vicar General of the Order, in a letter dated at Rome, February 25, 1851, instituted me his Commissary that I might be able to erect convents of our Order in California, and by this same letter incorporated into the Order convents that might be so erected from that time, granting them all the rights and privileges of convents rightly instituted. Furthermore, he constituted me Superior of these convents, with all the authority usually joined to the office of Prior Provincial.[13]

On May 2, 1851, the Most Reverend Bishop committed to me the care of the church of St. Charles in the mission called "Carmel" which was one of the missions founded by the Franciscan Fathers four English miles from Monterey, where some of the dispersed Indians still wandered about. On every other Sunday, therefore, I went to this church, having first celebrated Mass in Monterey, to celebrate another Mass there and give a sermon.[14]

1852

On February 4, 1852, by a letter dated at Monterey, I erected in that same city a convent with a novitiate under the title of our holy Father,

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Toulouse to Somerset and spent some time at St. Joseph's Priory gathering his and Alemany's belongings. Meanwhile the bishop traveled to Baltimore for a visit with Archbishop Samuel Eccleston.

They met again in New York on October 27 and the following day the two clergymen and Sister Mary Goemaere sailed on the steamer *Crescent City* for the Isthmus of Panama. They arrived at Chagres during the night of November 6 and the following morning set out on the river in a small boat "guided and worked by three Indians." They were three and a half days on the river, traveling by day and spending the nights in Indian huts or small inns. Before dinner on the tenth they arrived at the town of Las Cruces and on the following day departed on muleback for Panama City, arriving on the twelfth. They stayed at the seminary there and Vilarrasa sang a solemn Mass at which the bishop preached. On the sixteenth they sailed on the steamer *Columbus* (it is curious to note that this ship bore the same name as the sailing ship which carried them from Liverpool to New York), arrived at Acapulco on November 24 and after a few hours' stop sailed again arriving in San Francisco Bay at eleven o'clock on the night of December 6.

[13] This letter cannot be found in the provincial archives.

[14] Vilarrasa mentions his work at Carmel also in his letter to his family dated October 2, 1851 [*Revista Católica,* XX (January, 1852), 93]. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., in his *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1915), IV, 690, says that Vilarrasa was put in charge of the mission on August 8, 1851. The same author in his *Mission San Carlos Borromeo* (Santa

Dominic.[15] On this same day I clothed six young men from Spain with the habit of the clerics of the Order. Among them were Brothers Vincent Vinyes and Dominic Costa.[16]

The same day, in the evening, we all gathered in choir, where certain regulations made by me for the orderly administration of the convent and for regular observance[17] were made public by Father Ignatius Ramirez

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Barbara, 1934), p. 248, indicates that Vilarrasa's work ended there on February 28 (or 26), 1854.

[15] A copy of the letter of erection is found at the beginning of the "Book of Minutes of the Conventual Council" (hereafter "Minutes") of St. Dominic's Convent, Monterey, and later Benicia. This volume is now in APOP.

[16] According to the letter of Vilarrasa dated October 2, 1851 [*Revista Católica,* XX (January, 1852), 93], the six young Catalans left Paris for Le Havre on July 12. A letter of May 2, 1852 [*Revista Católica,* XXI (July, 1852), 91], informs us that they arrived at Monterey on December 26, 1851.

The record of their reception is found in the "Book of Receptions and Professions" (hereafter "Profession Book") now in APOP. The entries are in Vilarrasa's own hand. The six novices are listed as: Brothers Vincent Vinyes, Thomas Fossas, Raymond Cervera, Dominic Costa, Louis Berenguer, and Hyacinth Soler.

Opposite the names of Fossas and Soler there is the note that they "put off the habit." No date is given. The other four made their solemn profession on March 7, 1853, at "about nine o'clock in the morning" ("Profession Book," p. 8).

Brother Louis Berenguer died in Benicia on November 5, 1856. Brother Raymond Cervera evidently returned to Spain at a date we have not been able to determine, but before ordination. A *Catalogus* of the Dominicans in California was first printed in 1861. His name does not appear there, nor does it appear until 1878 when he is listed among those "outside the province" in the College of St. Dominic in Ocaña, Spain. He continues to be so listed until 1900. The *Catalogus omnium conventuum et domorum provinciarum et congregationum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1910), i.e., a general list of all Dominicans throughout the world, lists him (p. 195) as still in Ocaña. The *Analecta S.O.P.,* XII (1915), 161, publishes a brief obituary noting that he died in Ocaña on December 7, 1911.

Vincent Vinyes and Dominic Costa will appear again in the "Chronicle."

[17] Vilarrasa gives us some notion of the observance in his letter dated May 2, 1852 [*Revista Católica,* XXI (July, 1852, 91]. "In our convent, by way of observance, we do not know the taste of meat, but we do have good fish and eggs. Daily at three in the morning we say Matins; at six we have meditation, Prime, Conventual Mass, and at seven we have coffee and then have recreation for a half hour. At eleven thirty we say the Rosary, then Tierce and Sext. If it is a fast day we say None. Dinner follows. At two in the afternoon we have Vespers and at six fifteen Compline, Salve, meditation, spiritual reading, supper and recreation. This is the life we lead from the first of January until the feast of St. Sylvester. The intervening hours are devoted to classes, studies, etc."

de Arellano,[18] of the Mexican Province. All of these regulations the Most Reverend Vicar General of the Order later confirmed, adding certain corrections. Then Compline was sung with the *Salve* and *O Lumen*. Bishop Alemany was present at all these ceremonies as one who always, when he is in the city, assiduously assists at all the activities of the community.[19]

In the beginning of the foundation the Brethren suffered most serious inconveniences. The Order thus far possessed no income in California, and even though the strictest economy was observed, the alms and other offerings did not in the least suffice to supply food and clothing. We could not therefore make plans to build a real convent. Two small and very humble houses about 200 yards apart had been obtained. In the better house a rectangular room was selected for a church and choir, another room for study and recreation, another for a common dormitory, and a fourth for a parlor for seculars; in the other house the refectory and kitchen were found. When saying "grace" after dinner in procession as is customary in the Order[20] it was necessary to pass out into the open. The Brethren were subjected to these and to other inconveniences for the whole time that they remained at Monterey, nor was their condition much better at the beginning of the transfer of the convent to the city of Benicia.

On February 26, 1852 the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, granted, in a rescript requested by Bishop Alemany, that convents of our Order and of the Order of Minors of the Observance might be founded.[21]

[18] Ramirez in 1840 was in Lower California at the San Antonio white pueblo and was the vice-president of the missions there (Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV, 238). In 1846 he was still in San Antonio but was now president of the Dominicans in Lower California (*ibid.*, IV, 515). He evidently came to Monterey in March of 1849 (*ibid.*, IV, 604). He alternated with a Protestant minister in reading a prayer at the opening of each session of the constitutional convention of 1849 (*ibid.*, IV, 654, n. 2). His last baptism at Monterey was February 2, 1853, and Engelhardt concluded that he was then recalled to Mexico (*ibid.*, IV, 692, n. 19).

[19] In a document dated April 4, 1852, the Holy See granted a request made by Alemany that he might follow the Dominican rite whenever he was in a convent or church of his order. This document is preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco (hereafter AASF), "Roman Decrees," H 21, n. 26.

[20] The custom referred to is that of chanting the *Miserere* (Psalm 50) while proceeding processionally from the refectory to chapel.

[21] The text of Alemany's petition and the concession by the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide are reproduced in the *Acta congregationis biennalis . . . celebratae . . . 1865* (San Francisco, 1866), pp. 6-7. Engelhardt gives an English translation in *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV, 700-701. The original is in AASF, "Roman Decrees," H 21, n. 21.

1853

In this year the diocese of Monterey was divided and there was erected in the city of San Francisco an archiepiscopal see to which Bishop Alemany was transferred as Archbishop; Monsignor Thaddeus Amat of the Congregation of the Mission was placed over the see of Monterey.

1854

In order that I might the easier provide for the spread of the Order, having previously obtained authorization from the Most Reverend Vicar General of the Order on July 10, 1853 and from the Archbishop of San Francisco on March 20 of the following year, I transferred the convent of Monterey to Benicia by a letter dated March 31, 1854.[22]

Benicia is a small city located on the straits of the Sacramento River which are called Carquinez, and is a distance of twenty-seven English miles from the city of San Francisco. This city was founded in the year 1847 by the Mexican general Senor Mariano Vallejo, who gave it the name of his wife, Benicia, so called from St. Philip Benitio.

There already then existed at Benicia a church recently built and intended for a parish[23] but not at all finished and furthermore burdened with a debt of two thousand dollars. This the Archbishop gave to the Order. We built a very humble house without cells, such as we had at Monterey, and for this purpose the Archbishop assisted us with a sum of five hundred dollars. Before the beginning of the year 1859, thanks to the donations of the faithful of the city of Benicia, who, though few in number and destitute of the goods of fortune, nevertheless excel in generosity, the church was completed, a sacristy had been added together with a choir behind the altar, and all the debts were paid.

There was then committed to our Brethren the care of the parishes of Benicia and Martinez, which latter is a town situated across the Sacramento River almost opposite Benicia. There was already a small church there under the title of St. Catherine of Siena. Both parishes then embraced a vast territory.

The Church of Benicia was solemnly blessed by the Archbishop under the title of our holy Father Dominic on June 18, 1854.

[22] A copy of the letter of translation in Vilarrasa's own hand is found in "Minutes," p. 10. It is evidently not the original, however, since it is indicated as being "registered" on page 12.

[23] The church was started by Father Hugh Gallagher, a priest from the Diocese of Pittsburgh who had come to California as a result of the appeal made by Alemany at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore. For a brief but highly informative sketch of Gallagher cf. the article by Richard J. Purcell in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 102.

The old missionaries of California of our Order and of the Order of Minors of the Observance had for many years observed an agreement concerning suffrages for the deceased brethren of the two Orders. Lest after the destruction of the missions so praiseworthy a practice should be abandoned, a new agreement was made by us on May 15, 1854, with the Friars Minor of the Observance of the Apostolic College recently founded in the city of Santa Barbara. This agreement later obtained the approbation of the Most Reverend Master of the Order, Father Jandel.[24]

1855

In this year a part of the convent of Benicia was built, and in the following year we enlarged the same convent. This building, however, remained burdened with a debt of more than seventeen thousand dollars which, however, has been almost all paid off little by little in a space of fourteen years.

1857

On December 19, 1857, Brothers Vincent Vinyes and Dominic Costa received the Order of the Priesthood at the hands of the Most Reverend Archbishop Alemany in the church at Benicia. They were the first priests of the Order to be ordained in California.[25]

1860

In this year the Archdiocese of San Francisco was divided and the Vicariate Apostolic of Marysville constituted. This Vicariate was in the year 1868 made into the Diocese of Grass Valley. Over this Vicariate and later over this Diocese was placed Monsignor Eugene O'Connell, who in the year 1866 entered our Third Order.

On May 21, 1860, by the authority of the Most Reverend Master of the Order specially committed to me, I constituted Reverend Father Vincent Vinyes a Lector of Philosophy and Sacred Theology[26] and the same day installed him as Vicar of the convent of Benicia.

[24] The text of the agreement in Spanish is found in "Minutes," p. 11. Engelhardt refers to it in *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV, 708-709. For the earlier agreement between the two orders alluded to, cf. *ibid.*, I, 482.

[25] In the original draft the name of the ordaining prelate was given as Peter Losa, Bishop of Sonora. This is crossed out and Archbishop Alemany's name entered in its place. Losa was exiled from his see in Sonora and spent some time in San Francisco as a guest of Alemany, assisting at various episcopal functions. Archdiocesan records show, however, that it was the archbishop who ordained on this occasion ("Liber A Diocesis Sancti Francisci in California superiori . . . ," AASF, H 5, p. 20). Bishop Losa did ordain other Dominicans at a later date, which explains the momentary slip of Vilarrasa's pen.

[26] The Dominican degree of lector of sacred theology can ordinarily be conferred only in a *studium generale*, i.e., one that meets certain specified require-

1863

On a lot which we had bought at an opportune moment in the city of San Francisco, which was rapidly growing into a very noble city, it was determined to build a church, to which a convent would later be joined. Since, however, it seemed very difficult for the Brethren to subsist there without a parish, and the Archbishop was of the opinion that all parish churches should belong to the Ordinary, an agreement was reached with the Archbishop on April 28, 1863, that we should sell him a portion of our lot so that a parish church could be built there, while we should buy another lot to build a convent without a parish.[27] On the lot bought from us by the Archbishop, then, the parish church of St. Brigid was erected and was solemnly blessed by the Archbishop on February 14, 1864, and committed to our care.[28] To the house annexed to it was given the name

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ments as to number of students, professors, and quality of courses. Vinyes was granted the degree in virtue of special powers conferred on Vilarrasa by the master general. These powers were conveyed in a letter of Jandel dated at Rome, April 18, 1857. The letter itself is no longer extant, but a copy of parts of it was transcribed by Vilarrasa into a book bearing the title "Record" now in APOP. The transcription is on page 18. Among other things it is provided that if there are not enough lectors to conduct the oral examination—five are usually required—other fathers may be substituted. The master general suggests that Archbishop Alemany be invited to take part in the examination and that he may have a vote as to the outcome.

[27] "Minutes" under date of August 13, 1863, records a decision to sell two lots in San Francisco "for a parish church." The convent referred to here is evidently not a convent to be attached to the parish church, but another convent which should have a conventual church attached to it, for on October 6, 1863, we find Alemany granting Vilarrasa permission to build a house of the order with a public church in the city of San Francisco between the squares called Lafayette, Hamilton, and Alta. These squares bound the area occupied by St. Dominic's Church. A copy of the permission in Vilarrasa's hand is preserved together with copies of other documents from the Holy See and the archbishop on a loose folio among Vilarrasa's papers in APOP.

In a report written at the Minerva in Rome on July 3, 1864, Vilarrasa refers to the committing of St. Brigid's Church to the brethren, noting that they assumed it "with a view to preparing the way for the erection of a convent. After this convent shall have been erected and the church completed, the church of St. Brigid, together with the parish, will be put back into the hands of the Archbishop." The report adds: "It is of the greatest importance to our Order to have a convent in San Francisco, which is one of the most important and richest cities in the whole of America and even of the world." A photostat of this "Report" is preserved in APOP.

[28] St. Brigid's Church was administered by the Dominicans from its beginnings until 1875 when it was turned over to the diocesan clergy.

of the Holy Rosary with which title it was then our intention to adorn the future convent of the city of San Francisco.

On October 13, 1863, having obtained permission of the Most Reverend Master of the Order to make a journey to Rome, principally that I might speak with him concerning the affairs of the Order, I set out for Europe, taking with me for the purpose of studies Brother Pius Murphy, a professed novice.[29] Father Vincent Vinyes was left by me as Vicar General with full authority.

1864

On February 24, 1864, our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius IX, by his rescript given through the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars granted that, the proper formalities being observed, three other convents of the Order might be founded in the Archdiocese of San Francisco.[30]

On October 20, 1864, with the consent of the Master of the Order, I made an agreement with our Province of England for the education of novices and students of California there.[31]

The Most Reverend Master of the Order, by his Encyclical dated July 30, 1864, established certain things for regular observance and orderly administration in California.[32]

[29] John Pius Murphy was born in Quebec on June 23, 1844. He came to California with his parents in the early days of the gold rush, and received his early education from the fathers in the convent at Benicia. From the time he was eleven years old he wore the Dominican habit as an "oblate," and was formally admitted to the novitiate on July 2, 1859. He made first profession on the feast of St. Dominic, August 4, 1860, and solemn profession on the feast of St. Francis, October 4, 1863. Vilarrasa evidently took him to the convent of St. Maximin in France where he studied for a year and then was sent to the house of studies of the English province at Leicester. He was ordained a priest by William Joseph Hugo, Bishop of Clifton, on January 31, 1869, and remained in England until 1871 when he returned to Benicia. He was appointed the first prior of St. Dominic's in San Francisco when the house there was raised to the status of a priory on February 25, 1876. In 1892 he succeeded Father Vincent Vinyes as vicar general (the title has been changed from commissary general in 1889) of California. He held this office until 1908; he died in San Francisco on March 19, 1922.

[30] A copy of the text of this permission in Vilarrasa's hand is found in the folio mentioned in note 32.

[31] As a result of this agreement a number of young men from England and Ireland volunteered for service in California and received their Dominican training in the English province. Some of the more outstanding students among them finished their theological studies at Louvain.

[32] A printed copy of this encyclical is in St. Albert's College library in a

1865

On January 15 returning from Europe I landed in San Francisco, accompanied by Father Antoninus Migliorini of our Congregation of St. Mark.[33]

In the month of March, 1865, Father Vincent Vinyes was instituted by me as head of the convent of Benicia.

On March 29, Father James Henry Aerden[34] was confirmed by me as vicar of the house of the Most Holy Rosary. He had actually fulfilled this office from the beginning of the foundation of that house.

In the month of June, 1865, the church of St. Francis of Assisi in the city of San Francisco was committed to us. The church was weighed down by an enormous debt. It was administered by us until October, 1872, at which time the church edifice was elegantly completed and the debt on it paid in the most part.[35]

Beginning August 8, 1865, under my presidency the first Biennial Congregation of California was held in the convent of Benicia. The Acts of this Congregation were confirmed by the Master of the Order on the

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volume which bears the binder's title "Litterae Mag. Gen. 1855-72." The encyclical is concerned principally with regular monastic observance. It also provides for the biennial congregation to fill the place of the provincial chapter.

[33] Migliorini was born on January 5, 1830, and professed April 21, 1852. He is described as *praeses* of the convent at Benicia in "Minutes," pp. 20-21. He is last so noted in the entry for August 27, 1867. He returned to Europe on January 30, 1868.

[34] Aerden was a member of the Province of St. Rose in Belgium. He was born in that country on May 15, 1823, and made his religious profession in September, 1841. He was ordained a priest at Ghent on December 20, 1845. Five years later he came to California, arriving in San Francisco on February 23, 1851, a little more than two months after the arrival of Villarrasa. He labored for about six years among the Indians in northern California and Oregon. The first record of his presence in Benicia is on September 19, 1857, when he assisted at the ordination of Vincent Vinyes and Dominic Costa to the diaconate ("Liber A Diocesis Sancti Francisci . . . ," AASF, H 5, p. 18). He died at Benicia on March 2, 1896. A brief obituary is found in *The Monitor*, March 7, 1896.

[35] This was the first church to be established in San Francisco after the Mission Dolores. The first frame structure was built in 1849 and the first Mass offered there by Father John Brouillet. A new building was begun in 1857 "around and over the little frame structure, where divine services continued to be held until the new church was roofed and the floor was laid." (Cf. *History of St. Francis* in the brochure published on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the parish held October 2, 1949.)

following January 1.[36] Those present were: Father Vincent Vinyes, superior of the convent of Benicia, Father James Henry Aerden, vicar of the house of the Most Holy Rosary, Father Antoninus Migliorini, Father Thomas O'Neill, Father Jordan Caldwell, and Father Louis Daniel.[37]

On August 10, 1865, when Father Aerden took over the administration of the parish of St. Francis, I appointed Father Thomas O'Neill as vicar of the house of the Most Holy Rosary.

1866

From October 7 to 21 inclusive, under the presidency of the Most Reverend Martin John Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore and Apostolic Legate, the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore was celebrated in the cathedral church of Baltimore. There were present seven archbishops, 38 bishops, one administrator, two abbots, 27 superiors of religious orders and 90 theologians. From our Order there were present: Most Reverend Alemany, Archbishop of San Francisco, Most Reverend Thomas Grace, Bishop of St. Paul, Very Reverend William Dominic O'Carroll, Provincial of the Province of St. Joseph, I as Commissary General of California and five theologians.[38] For the time that I was absent from California I left Father Vincent Vinyes as Vicar General with full authority.

1867

On March 13, 1867, Father Antoninus Migliorini was instituted by me as superior of the convent of Benicia, Father Mannes Doogan as vicar of the house of the Most Holy Rosary, and Father Vincent Vinyes vicar of the brethren in the parochial church of St. Francis of Assisi.

Beginning July 9, 1867, under my presidency the second Biennial Congregation of California was celebrated in the convent of Benicia. The Acts of this Congregation did not obtain confirmation from the Master of the Order.[39] Those present were: Father James Henry Aerden,

[36] This was the first biennial congregation held in accordance with the encyclical of the master general of June 30, 1864. A MS copy of these *Acta* is in the provincial archives. They were printed in San Francisco in 1865.

[37] This is the first mention in the "Chronicle" of Fathers O'Neill, Caldwell, and Daniel. They were among the earliest members of the congregation of California.

[38] Vilarrasa was evidently accompanied by Anthony Langlois as his theologian, for his name is listed in the *Acta* of the council [*Concilii plenarii Baltimorensis II . . . Acta et Decreta* (Baltimore, 1868), p. lxv]. The other Dominican theologians mentioned were members of St. Joseph's Province. On Langlois cf. *infra*, n. 40.

[39] The MS copy of these *Acta* is still preserved in APOP. There is a note on them that they were not confirmed by the master general. No reason is given for the failure to obtain confirmation. They were, of course, not printed.

Father Vincent Vinyes, Father Augustine Langlois,[40] Father Mannes Doogan, and Father Patrick Callaghan.

On December 18, 1867, Father Thomas O'Neill was instituted by me as the first prior of the convent of Benicia and accepted the office on the following day.[41]

1868

On February 20, 1868, Father Vincent Vinyes was instituted by me as the first sub-prior of the convent of Benicia.

1869

Up to this time the houses in the city of San Francisco were joined to the convent at Benicia in such a way that the brethren assigned there remained under the jurisdiction of the prior of that convent and enjoyed all the rights of those assigned there; but on March 9, 1869, by order of the Most Reverend Master of the Order, I declared these houses entirely separated from the convent of Benicia.

[40] This is the same Father Langlois who, as pastor of St. Francis Church and vicar foraine for northern California welcomed Alemany and Vilarrasa to San Francisco in 1850. He was born on November 9, 1812, in the town of Saint Vallier in the Province of Quebec and was ordained to the priesthood in Quebec on May 1, 1838. He taught philosophy for a year at the College of Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière and spent two years in parish work before coming to British Columbia as a missionary in 1842. While working in the Northwest he felt a call to the religious life and applied for admission to the Society of Jesus. His application was accepted and he set out for eastern Canada to enter the novitiate, intending evidently to make the journey by ship. He reached San Francisco early in 1849 and perceiving the needs of the Catholics there, joined Father Brouillet who was working among them. Consultation with the Jesuit superiors led to the decision that he should postpone his entrance into the society and remain in San Francisco.

His desire to enter a religious community persisted, however, and on August 28, 1853, he received the Dominican habit at Monterey, taking the name of Augustine. He made his solemn profession at Benicia on October 4 of the following year, and remained at Benicia until 1859 when he returned to Canada, serving at Grondines and at St. Hyacinthe until 1866. The *Catalogus* for 1862-1866 lists him as "absent in Canada" and in 1865 and 1866 his absence is explained as "because of illness." He returned to Benicia in 1866 and was secularized sometime in 1868. He served as pastor of Half Moon Bay, California, 1868-1872 and later was chaplain to the Christian Brothers first in Oakland and later at Martinez where he died on May 9, 1892.

[41] The house in Benicia had not previously had enough religious there to enjoy the status of a priory.

1870

In this year the Fathers began to give missions and retreats and from then on devoted themselves with great assiduity to these labors of the sacred ministry.[42]

1871

On January 17 I confirmed the election made by the Fathers of Father Patrick Callaghan, until then assigned to the house of the Most Holy Rosary, as prior of the convent of Benicia, and he began his office on the 29th of the same month.[43]

1872

On June 1, 1872 eight Brethren of our Province of Guatemala in Central America who had been forced into exile as a result of the impious and violent suppression of the regulars by the civil government arrived unexpectedly in San Francisco. They were received most charitably by us, as was only fitting, and absolutely nothing was left undone that they might feel that they had fallen not among strangers but indeed among their own Brethren. However, after they had remained among us for some months, they set out again, some for Spain, some for the republic of San Salvador, bordering upon Guatemala, leaving a professed novice in the convent of Benicia. These are their names: Very Reverend Father Joseph Casamitjana, prior of the convent of Guatemala and Vicar Provincial, Father Anthony Coll, Father John Boschmonar, Father Raphael Casadevall, Father Michael Pages, Father Vincent Marroquin, Brother William Dempflin, professed novice,[44] and Brother Leo Aguilar, lay brother.

[42] There are, unfortunately, very few details available concerning these apostolic activities. The first detailed account of the preaching activities of the brethren is in a report for the year 1879 found among Vilarrasa's papers. During that year they gave thirteen missions, as many as five fathers sometimes being engaged in a single mission, six retreats, including those for the diocesan clergy of San Francisco and Los Angeles, and several *tridua.*

[43] In accordance with the constitutions of the order the first prior had been appointed (cf. n. 41). His three-year term having expired, his successor was elected by the vocals of the convent, as is the ordinary practice in the order.

[44] William Dempflin was born November 18, 1838, in the town of Wieblingen, Württemburg, Germany. He received the Dominican habit for, and presumably in, the Convent of St. Dominic, Guatemala City, and was professed there on January 18, 1872. He made solemn profession in Benicia on February 11, 1875, and was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Alemany on December 18 of that same year. Father William, as he was usually known, gained considerable fame as a missionary to the California Indians. An account of some of his missionary activities can be found in two articles in *The Monitor* for May 12, and May 19, 1881. He died on December 3, 1912.

1873

On June 29, 1873, amidst a great concourse of people the church recently built by us in the city of San Francisco was solemnly blessed by the Most Reverend Archbishop Alemany under the title of our Holy Father Dominic. The Very Reverend Father Masnata, superior of the Society of Jesus in California, celebrated the Solemn Mass, assisted by ministers and a master of ceremonies of the same Society. The Reverend Father John Harrington, pastor of the church of St. Francis preached a sermon during the Mass on the utility of the Religious Orders. There were, furthermore, present at this ceremony fourteen Brethren of our Order, one from the Order of Minors of the Observance, the Vicar General of the Archdiocese, as many priests of the secular clergy as could be present, and some young men from the altar boys' society in the church of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

On September 8, 1873 the religious house joined to the church—or more properly a part of the proposed convent that was clearly sufficient for the present and would house fifteen of the Brethren comfortably—was almost finished. This house was built under the direction of Brother Peter O'Leary, a Tertiary. After dinner on that day, then, the Most Reverend Archbishop blessed the house, and with the singing of Vespers the regular life was begun there. On that same day letters dated the third of the same month were made public appointing Father Benedict McGovern vicar of the aforementioned house. Five priests and two lay-brothers were assigned to the house at that time.[45] It can easily be seen that to complete these buildings it was necessary to contract heavy debts.[46]

1874[47]

On January 23, 1874, the Feast of St. Raymond, the Most Reverend Archbishop solemnly consecrated the main altar of our church in the city of San Francisco in honor of our holy Father Dominic, and enclosed in it the relics of the holy martyrs Aurelius and Modestus. He also granted to the faithful on that day an indulgence of one year, and to those visiting the church on the anniversary of the consecration, an indulgence of 40 days, according to the customary form of the Church.

[45] These were, besides McGovern, Fathers Dominic Joseph Lentz, Jordan Caldwell, Thomas Fitzsimons, and Vincent de Marzo, and Brothers Martin Cassin and Bernard Gaynor.

[46] The *Acta congregationis biennalis . . . 1876* (p. 16) report a debt of $18,386.93 "by reason of the building of the church and house in San Francisco."

[47] These entries for 1874 were added at the bottom of the page as mentioned in the Introduction, p. 5.

On February 10, 1874, I confirmed the election made by the Fathers of Father Vincent Vinyes as prior of the convent of Benicia and he began that office the same day.

This is a concise history of the Order in California from its beginnings to this day. The Order has progressed slowly up to now, but if it be recalled that only one Father was sent here in the beginning, that he was for a long time the only priest of his Order here, that the Order was completely destitute of any temporal help and furthermore that the Order received little or rather no incentive from the Archdiocese, indeed that grave impediments were placed in its way from time to time,[48] then it will seem wonderful that there are now found in California two houses of the Brethren with 17 priests, six students (including five still living in Europe) and six lay-brothers. It may be hoped, however, that with God's help and the foundations now having been laid, we may make more rapid progress, so that California may be soon erected into a new Province, for the spread of the Catholic Faith and the added luster of the Order. Fiat, Fiat.

Benicia in the convent of our holy Father Dominic,
February 12, 1874.
Bro. Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa, of the Order of Preachers,
Commissary General of California.[49]

[48] The reason for this statement and the nature of the "impediments" are not evident from the extant documents. On the other hand, there are records of numerous acts of benevolence on the part of the archbishop toward the order. Sister Gertrude Mary Gray in her "A Preliminary Survey of the Life of the Most Reverend Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., First Archbishop of San Francisco" (unpublished master's dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1942), pp. 42-43, remarks:

"The Archbishop was always at heart a Dominican and enjoyed, whenever he could, the visits to Benicia, but, far from favoring his own Order, he seemed to expect exceptional service from it for the diocese. In view of the rather strained relations which developed with Father Vilarassa [*sic*] over the jurisdiction an archbishop might exercise over the regular clergy in a missionary country, it is noteworthy that, when the Archbishop resigned the episcopate in 1884, he automatically resumed active membership in the Dominican Order and one of his first acts was to write to Father Vilarassa [*sic*] for certain immediate permissions regarding gifts of money."

[49] Vilarrasa continued to rule the order in California as commissary general until the day of his death, March 17, 1888.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Mélanges Paul Peeters. Two Volumes. [Analecta Bollandiana, Tomes LXVII-LXVIII.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 1949-1950. Pp. 508; 500.)

It was the purpose of these essays to mark the eightieth birthday of Paul Peeters, S.J., but death claimed the venerable Bollandist on August 18, 1950, just a month before the anniversary to be feted. It is fitting, surely, that Père Peeters should be honored by studies of such stature; fitting, too, that he whose posthumous *Le Tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* [Subsidia hagiographica, 26] (Brussels, 1950) but confirms his eminence in the field of eastern hagiography should be commemorated by volumes which contain texts in Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and Ethiopic. Yet so diverse a display of riches hardly facilitates the task of the reviewer.

The reader may be referred to the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* XLVI (1951), 324-333, for a lengthy analysis of the sixty-six essays which compose these volumes. Here, unfortunately, limitations of space make it possible to call attention only to those of more general interest. In the first volume Lebreton's "La source et le caractère de la mystique d'Origène" shows that the mysticism of the man flowed not from ecstasy but from the common piety of the Church and was strongly Christo-centric. Telfer's "St Peter of Alexandria and Arius" makes use of the Alexandrian *Passio s. Petri* to reconstruct a segment of the 368 A.D. Jubilee Book which marked the fortieth year of St. Athanasius' episcopate. Nautin: "Deux interpolations orthodoxes dans une lettre d'Arius" questions the authenticity of passages in Arius' letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia. Baynes: "The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople" recaptures the importance held by the sainted patrons of the capital for its mediaeval residents. Richard: "S. Basile et la mission du diacre Sabinus" works out a coherent account of the relations among Pope Damasus, St. Athanasius, and St. Basil in 371. Bardy: "Pèlerinages à Rome vers la fin du IV^e^ siècle" portrays the attraction exerted by Rome upon pilgrims in the days of St. Jerome. Lambot: "Les sermons de s. Augustin pour les fêtes de martyrs" uses the sermons of the saint to give concrete illustration to the celebrated Calendar of Carthage (*MPL,* XIII, 1219-30; *DACL,* VIII, 644-45). Draguet: "Un nouveau témoin du texte G de l'histoire Lausiaque" calls attention to serious weaknesses in Abbot Butler's edition of the history. Vives: "Un nuevo altar romano-cristiano en la Tarraconense" provides both photograph and description of a newly-found altar dating from the fifth or sixth century.

Mallardo: "L'incubazione nella cristianità medievale napoletana" supplies grounds for thinking that the ancient practice of seeking blessings through sleeping at a sanctuary lived on at Naples as late as the ninth-tenth century.

The second volume contains two highly competent studies upon the patriarchate of Constantinople in Dvornik's "Photius et la réorganisation de l'académie patriarcale" and Lemerle's "Le tribunal du patriarcat ou tribunal synodal." To students of the crusading era, both Runciman: "The Holy Lance found at Antioch" and Leib: "Jean Doukas, César et moine: son jeu politique à Byzance" will prove of interest. Andrieu's "Reliquaires et monstrances eucharistiques" traces an important link between the mediaeval cult of relics and that of the Blessed Sacrament. One of the thorny questions of hagiography is examined by Fliche in "Le problème de s. Roch" who accepts the saint's real existence and places his life span from c. 1350 to 1379.

The essays of the first volume which lie within this reviewer's own field of investigation are of high excellence. Palanque: "Les premiers évêques d'Aix-en-Provence" (to be read with his later "Les évêchés provençaux à l'époque romaine" in the new *Provence historique* (I, 3e fasc. [Jan.-Mars, 1951], 105-143), shows the need for revising Duchesne's *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*. Ganshof: "S. Martin et le comte Avitianus" interprets a text from Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogues* in such wise as to picture a prelate interceding with a civil official for debtors of the *fiscus*. To the examples cited by the author (pp. 216-222) of bishops who succeeded in setting prisoners at liberty two other instances from Rodez in this period may be added: the *Vita s. Amantii, 2* (*AA SS*, Nov., II, 1, p. 277), and the *Vita s Dalmatii, 9* (*MGH*, SSrerMer, III, p. 548).

The one essay which gives rise to mild reservation is that of Zeiller on "Légalité et arbitraire dans les persécutions contre les chrétiens" (I, 49-54), for its shares the fault common to many studies of the *droit persécuteur* in failing to take cognizance of the solution offered by Attilio Profumo in *Le fonti ed i tempi dello incendio neroniano* (Rome, 1905), pp. 197-251, which comes closest, this reviewer feels, to the heart of the matter.

HENRY G. J. BECK

Immaculate Conception Seminary
Darlington

Patrology: Volume I. *The Beginnings of Patristic Literature.* By Johannes Quasten, professor of ancient church history and Christian archaeology in the Catholic University of America. (Westminster: Newman Press; Utrecht-Brussels: Spectrum Publishers. 1950. Pp. xviii, 349. $5.00.)

When this new *Patrology* was announced the author's name inspired high expectations. The volume now in hand is within bounds a gratifying fulfillment. It is a splendid contribution to early Christian studies and augurs a completed work of major importance. Volume I has its own unity and is equipped with its own indices The latter features illustrate a technical competence characteristic of the book. It appears notably in the full bibliographies attached to every chapter section, amounting in sum total to a scholar's treasury and for this alone the author's colleagues would be deeply indebted to him. They will find much profit in reading everything in the book. One need not be a professional to enjoy it. Anyone turning, perhaps for the first time, to the early Christian writers will find here an introduction in English that will excite his interest and richly reward it. For use as a textbook, it is excellent and there is no stuffiness about it. To erudition it adds composition and a scholar's love of his subject. This last is a vital spirit, blowing in every page.

The volume begins with the earliest texts outside the New Testament and ends with Irenaeus The apostolic fathers, the apologists, and Irenaeus himself claim major consideration and some of the author's best pages are devoted to them. Attention may be called to less obvious topics. The first chapter surveys "The Beginnings of Liturgical Formulas and Canonical Legislation"; Chapter III, "The Beginnings of Christian Romance, Folk Stories and Legends"; Chapter IV, "The Beginnings of Christian Poetry"; Chapter V, "The First Acts of the Martyrs"; Chapter VIII, "The Beginnings of Heretical Literature." The book is well illustrated throughout with selections in translation.

The first edition of a work containing an immense accumulation of factual detail is bound to include inaccuracies. Reference to Leukios Charinos and the Acts of John (pp. 130, 13, 137) reflect an inconsistent chronology. On page 192 Rendel Harris is described as an American. Yale University is deprived of the excavations at Dura-Europos (p. 225). It is said that Melito's *Homily on the Passion,* edited in 1940, "was hitherto unknown even by title" (p. 243); on this cf. Anastasius Sinaita, *Dux viae* xii (*P.G.,* LXXXIX, 197 A). These are rare lapses and easy to repair.

EDGAR R. SMOTHERS

West Baden College

The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome. By Andrew Alföldi. Translated by Harold Mattingly. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1948. Pp. vi, 140. $4.50.)

This volume inaugurates a series of studies on the struggle between the Roman aristocracy as champions of the old pagan traditions of Rome

and the Christian religion, first given official recognition and then almost immediately accorded marked preference by Constantine. Professor Alföldi has brought to bear on his study of Constantine his great knowledge of the political and religious ideas of the first three centuries of the empire. His unrivalled familiarity with and ability to employ critically the numismatic sources gives his work unique importance. The present book may fairly be regarded as the most significant comprehensive study of Constantine's conversion and religious policy to appear since the publication of Norman Bayne's *Constantine and the Christian Church* (London, 1929-1931).

The author makes his position clear at the outset. He is convinced that Constantine's conversion to Christianity is to be dated from 312, that it was a genuine conversion, and that the episode of the *in hoc signo vinces*, however it is to be interpreted, must be considered a real and important personal experience. He accepts the *Vita Constantini* as a work of Eusebius without qualification, and likewise the authenticity of the documents relating to the Donatist movement. After an introduction and three preliminary chapters dealing with background, the vision of Constantine, and the moving forces in his religious policy, the evolution of that policy is described in detail in the six chapters following. Three main phases are distinguished: a) from the Battle of the Milvian Bridge to the second period of tension with Licinius (312-c. 320); b) from the second period of tension with Licinius to the founding of Constantinople (c. 320-330); c) the last years of Constantine (330-337). The story as presented by the author is that of a policy subject to shifts and compromises, but basically steady and consistent, which had as its twofold aim the public promotion of Christianity and the suppression of paganism.

It would be impossible here to discuss in detail a book so rich in content and dealing so acutely and independently with numerous controversial issues. A few critical observations must suffice. Page 16: The authenticity of the *Vita Constantini*, at least in its present form, as well as that of the related documents, continues to be discussed pro and con by several competent scholars. Hence a treatment of the problem in some detail should have been included. Page 23: One would expect some further comment on the passage cited from St. Ambrose in which reference is made to Constantine's employment of nails taken from the Cross of our Lord. Page 35: The sources do not warrant the unqualified assertion that Constantine "at his express wish . . . was buried in his new capital as the thirteenth apostle." Page 52: The statement that the Lateran Basilica became "the model for all succeeding sacred buildings of the Christian Church" certainly needs qualification. Page 58: Optatianus Porphyrius is repeatedly called a Christian poet, but we know extremely little about him and his Christianity may well be questioned. Page 86: Since the Council

of Nicaea is of such importance in the history of the Church and of the relations of Church and State, it is surprising that the author does not discuss the possible role of Constantine in convoking the council, and that he does not mention the fact that the emperor selected Nicaea as the place of meeting. Page 124 ff.: the circumstances of composition explain this separate section containing additional bibliography and notes, but the arrangement is awkward and could have been avoided. Finally, the translation made by Dr. Mattingly is excellent as usual.

Professor Alföldi has given us an outstanding and timely book. In recent years, with the great development of Byzantine studies, there has been a tendency to de-emphasize or neglect the role of old Rome and its pagan aristocracy in the period after Constantine. The present study and the ones which are to follow it should serve as a much needed corrective in this respect.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire. By M. L. W. Laistner. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 145. $2.50.)

This book contains the three lectures given at the University of Virginia on the James W. Richard Foundation, October 24-26, 1950, by the John Stambaugh professor of history in Cornell University. As an appendix, the author adds his own translation of St. John Chrysostom's *Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring up Their Children.*

In the first lecture the primacy of rhetoric over science and philosophy in the higher pagan education of the later empire is discussed; the second emphasizes the moral and catechetical nature of the purely religious training of the early Christian; while in the third the reconciliation, so far as one occurred, between pagan learning and the Christian religion is examined. Here, naturally, the attitudes of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine in the West, and in the East the work of the Alexandrine School are described.

The translation in the appendix is the first complete and scholarly rendering into English of the *Address* (John Evelyn's is of the *De educandis liberis* only, and tends to paraphrase). The translation is clear, simple, and faithful to the original in word and spirit. Indeed, here and in the lectures themselves, no less than in his other works on this age of transition, Professor Laistner shows a sympathy with and understanding of the Christian dispensation which in no wise dull, but rather sharpen, the edge of his critical judgment. The discussion is non-controversial in matter and spirit, and in the more fundamental interpretations it follows the conclusions already established by sacred and profane scholarship. In mat-

ters of detail, on the other hand, the author incorporates into his text and notes the more recent monographic contributions. In short, the book is a model of meticulous and conscientious scholarship, and the student who turns to it for learning brought up to date will not be disappointed.

Unfortunately, the title of the book is broader than its contents. The subject examined is *formal* education, pagan and Christian, and the burden of the analysis is to show what part of the old, in method and structure, survived in the new. The struggle, however, was not about means but ends. Faith took precedence over reason as the norm of truth; philosophy ceased to reign as queen and became the handmaid of theology; and the imitation of Christ rather than civic excellence became the guide to conduct. Indeed, the virtues inculcated by Chrysostom's beautiful little sermon on child-training are precisely those of particularly Christian emphasis—long-suffering, humility, and chastity. The author, of course, is not unaware of this more radical conflict, and at the very beginning of his first lecture he writes that Christianity was "perhaps the most far-reaching revolution the world has seen" (p. 2). But this emphasis is not made as explicit as the title would seem to promise.

There is a good edition of the Greek text, with introduction and notes, of part of the *De educandis liberis* (nos. 20-40), under the title, "The Soul of the Child," in John F. D'Alton's *Selections from St. John Chrysostom* (London, 1940), pp. 104-124. On page 6, line 8, for *was* read *were;* on page 87, line 1, for *her* read *she;* on page 91, line 3, for *is* read *are.*

WILLIAM F. MCDONALD

Ohio State University

Die Ueberlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert. By Albert Siegmund, O.S.B. [Band V. der Abhandlungen der bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie.] (München-Pasing: Filser-Verlag. 1949. Pp. 308.)

A large body of Christian Greek literature, in addition to the Scriptures, was translated into Latin in antiquity, and a considerable amount of similar material was translated in the Middle Ages even before the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Apart from the texts of important authors preserved in whole or in part in Latin only, like Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, etc., inadequate attention, however, has been given to this translation literature in general until rather recently. Scattered references are to be found in the standard patrologies and histories of literature, but little attempt was made in the older works to deal systematically and comprehensively with the translation literature as such. Some pioneering work was done by Harnack and his school, by Dom Chrysostom Baur, O.S.B., and others, but it is only in the last twenty years that a more general

interest has become manifest and that comprehensive investigation in this field has been planned or undertaken. Thus B. Altaner has published valuable studies on the Latin translations of SS. Athanasius, Basil, and John Chrysostom, and has emphasized the investigation of the Latin translation literature as one of the most important tasks for patristic research (*Miscellanea Mercati,* [Rome, 1946], I, 519-520, with bibliography). Furthermore, through his initiative the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin has inaugurated a new series of critical texts of Latin translations of Greek patristic works which have not yet been published in the Berlin *Corpus* or the Vienna *Corpus.* J. de Ghellinck, S.J., likewise, stressed the necessity of intensive investigation in this field (*Patristique et moyen âge,* [Brussels, 1947], II, 110 ff. and 232 ff.). G. Bardy has devoted one of the most important sections of his recent book, *La question des langues dans l'Eglise ancienne* [(Paris, 1948), I, 231-289] to Latin translations of Greek patristic works in the fourth century. F. Blatt published an important article on the history of ancient Latin translations in general in the first volume of *Classica et Mediaevalia* (1938), and P. Courcelle has dealt in masterly fashion with the translation literature in his splendid monograph, *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore* (new edition revised, Paris, 1948). J. T. Muckle, C.S.B., published a very useful list of "Greek Works Translated Directly into Latin before 1350" (*Mediaeval Studies,* IV [1942], 133-142, and V [1943], 102-114), with special emphasis on the needs of students of patristic and mediaeval philosophy. Finally, in our own country through the indefatigable labors and effective leadership of Professor Paul O. Kristeller of Columbia University a large co-operative project and one international in scope, Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries, Annotated Lists and Guides, has been planned, organized, and gotten well under way during the past five years. To enable contributors to control unpublished materials adequately, Kristeller compiled an invaluable *Catalogus Catalogorum,* "Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: A Bibliography of the Printed Catalogues of Extant Collections" (*Traditio,* VI [1948], 227-317). With this general background in mind, let us now turn to a consideration of the study under review.

Prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Munich under the direction of Professor Paul Lehmann and accepted by the faculty in 1939, this monograph could not be published until nearly ten years later. In the meantime, the author, a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of Scheyern in Bavaria, was able to add considerable material to his study, although he could not make use of library facilities outside Germany and foreign publications were practically inaccessible. In his introduction he explains, that owing to the pioneer character of his work, he has confined himself largely to the investigation of Greek exegetical, dogmatic, historical,

ascetical, and biographical writings translated into Latin from the early patristic period to the twelfth century, and to the problem of determining their dissemination and direct influence. He has excluded all consideration of indirect influences, the technique of the translators, the quality of the translations, and similar matters. In an excellent chapter on "Sources," he gives a critical evaluation of the chief sources, especially the modern and mediaeval catalogs of manuscripts. The availability of such works for each country is indicated and concrete illustration is furnished on how their data can be utilized. Both here and throughout his monograph the author supplies full documentation in extensive footnotes. The main exposition is divided into three parts.

Part I begins with a treatment of bilingual (Greek-Latin) Biblical Mss—psalters and portions of the New Testament—and the Latin translations of the Apocrypha. Then comes a long section (pp. 49-139) on Latin translations of Greek ecclesiastical writers—including, because of their close connection, Josephus, Philo, and the Physiologus—arranged in alphabetical order, from Adamantius to Timotheus of Alexandria. The first part terminates with a survey of translations of collections, especially canonical collections and related materials. The author emphasizes the importance of these collections and the necessity of subjecting them to thorough and systematic study. The *Verba seniorum* or *Vitae patrum*, although a collection, are treated, on the basis of their content, in the section on the individual writers, and this is probably justified. In the case of the great Greek fathers like SS. Athanasius, Basil, and John Chrysostom the author was able to make use of good special studies by Altaner and others, but all previous researches have been critically reexamined, much new matter has been added, and all old and new materials have been organized and presented in systematic fashion.

Part II is concerned with the problem of the use and influence of the Latin translations in the early Middle Ages and with new translations from the Greek made in the mediaeval period before the twelfth century. The author is well aware of the lack of adequate preliminary studies, and he regards his observations as necessarily incomplete. His critical analysis of the weakness of Ogilvie's study on books known to Anglo-Latin writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin indicates how easy it is to misinterpret evidence in this field. More investigations of the quality of Laistner's "Bede as a Classical and as a Patristic Scholar," are badly needed. While pointing out the influence of the Latin translations of Greek dogmatic, exegetical, and historical works the author stresses the special importance of the translations of St. Basil's *Rules*, the *Vitae patrum*, etc., in mediaeval monasteries. The section on new translations covers chronicles—the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius being unusually influential—acts of councils, collections of sermons, and Greek liturgical texts, as well

as the works of known translators like Hilduin of St. Denis, John the Scot, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and Johannes Monachus. The author emphasizes the great need of special studies on the translations of Greek conciliar acts, liturgical texts, and collections of sermons.

Part III (pp. 195-277) is devoted to Latin translations of Greek biographical literature. The Bollandists, in spite of their enormous contributions, have not been primarily concerned with the systematic investigation of Latin translations from the Greek as such and, therefore, much remains to be done in Latin biographical literature from this point of view. The author has attempted to present a comprehensive list of Latin translations of Greek *passiones* and *vitae* for the period covered in his study. After an introduction dealing with the thorny problems of the dates and places of origins of the translations, the identity of the translators, and the classification of this vast body of material, he presents his findings in three sections, the *passiones* or *vitae* being treated in each according to alphabetical order. Section A covers translations which can be definitely assigned to antiquity. Section B contains a great mass of material which may be assigned, for the most part at least, to the period from the close of antiquity to the middle of the ninth century. Section C comprises the translations which fall definitely in the period c. 850-1100.

The main exposition closes with a short but pithy conclusion (pp. 278-282). There are eight indices, but no list of *incipits* among them. Valuable as are the indices furnished, especially the list of manuscripts, the *incipits* would be a most precious help for further research.

Father Siegmund has published a monograph of exceptional importance. While he has utilized such other studies as have been made in the field, he is the first scholar to attack the whole problem of the Latin translations of Greek ecclesiastical literature to the twelfth century in a comprehensive and systematic way. He has based his investigation on the manuscript tradition, putting special emphasis on the mediaeval catalogs. Finally, he has demonstrated the fruitfulness of investigating more comprehensively and intensively the direct and indirect influence of Latin translations of Christian Greek writings on western mediaeval thought and culture. Father Siegmund himself, however, would be the last to regard his monograph as final in many respects. It should serve rather as an excellent guide in content and method to a whole series of important special investigations which should certainly extend and deepen our knowledge of the relations between Greek and Latin Christian thought in antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

Le mouvement doctrinal du ix^e^ au xiv^e^ siècle. By Aimé Forest, F. Van Steenberghen, and M. de Gandillac. [Histoire de l'église, dirigée par A. Fliche et E. Jarry. Volume 13.] (Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1951. Pp. 480. 1,200 fr.)

The limits of this thirteenth volume of the famous Fliche-Martin Histoire de l'Église are evident from the title. It is the history of the doctrinal movements in the Church from the era of Scotus Eriugena to the close of the fourteenth century. It is not intended to embrace the totality of mediaeval culture; hence it contains nothing on art and architecture, poetry, vernacular literature, and music. The authors are concerned with the theology, the spirituality and mysticism, the canon law (briefly), and above all with the Christian philosophy of the Middle Ages.

Written by three expert historians, the work is naturally divided into three books. The Abbé Forest opens the earlier history with an adequate study of Eriugena, continues through St. Anselm, Abelard, and the monastic schools to the beginnings of the universities. Throughout, he gives proper emphasis to the role of dialectics in the development of scholasticism, though one would prefer more study of its place in the growth of canon law. Canon Van Steenberghen devotes the second book exclusively to the thirteenth century, repeating to some extent the positions assumed in his *Siger dans l'histoire de l'aristotélisme* (Philosophes Belges, XIII, 1942). This in no wise detracts from his masterly exposé of the golden age of scholasticism in the present volume, though some will continue to dispute his interpretation of certain movements, especially after 1270. Finally, M. de Gandillac devotes the last section of the work, some 150 pages, to the fourteenth century. Instead of an "inevitable decline" or "rebellious reaction" as the characteristic of this period, he rightly prefers to see the doctrinal movements of this century as the effort of a living Christianity in the face of new problems and new tendencies. In this light, he considers Scotism and the *via antiqua,* Meister Eckhart, and the German Dominicans, Petrarca, the Averroism of Padua, Ockhamism and the *via moderna,* and lastly the beginnings of the *devotio moderna.* For once, Ockhamism is not saluted as the cause of the Protestant Revolt, the source of all evils that were to come. From the viewpoint of the history of philosophy, Gandillac's study is the most important section of the whole volume.

It is evident that the work is most valuable, not only for the ecclesiastical historian, but for all students of mediaeval thought. Details may call for some slight corrections and additions, perhaps, since research is continuous (e.g., the first book of Alexander of Hales, *Glossa* on Lombard, published within the past months, adds to our knowledge of the early thirteenth century). Of most importance is the valuable insight afforded by the authors on the continuity of thought in the Middle Ages, whereby

each doctrinal or cultural movement, such as the renaissance of the twelfth century, or that of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is seen for what it is, a moment in the intellectual history of the Catholic Church.

IGNATIUS BRADY

Duns Scotus College
Detroit

Five Centuries of Religion. Volume IV. *The Last Days of Medieval Monachism.* By G. G. Coulton. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xv, 833. $9.00.)

In sixty-nine chapters of very uneven length Professor Coulton gave his fourth and last volume to the press before his death. It was to have been the fifth in the series, the fourth being a collection of data which was to have been sent through the press by his former pupil, Professor G. R. Potter of Sheffield. The original Volume IV has now been abandoned and Volume V has become Volume IV. Coulton's voluminous notes have been sent to the University of Chicago, where they may be consulted by those who have not been able to make a judgment from the four published volumes.

This fourth volume purports to treat of the last days of mediaeval monasticism. The author bows to the Council of Constance near the beginning and to the monastic dissolution in England at the end. In between he wanders, sometimes aimlessly but generally calculatingly, back and forth across centuries and lands. He draws heavily upon Johann Busch, historian of Windersheim, and tells a good story about his reforming work. The reform of Bursfelde and its influence is well done. The visitatorial work of Ambrogio Traversari, general of the Camaldolese monks and friend of Pope Eugene IV, fills many pages. The problems of visitors and visitations are discussed at great length and chapters are inserted here and there entitled "Citizens and Cloisterers" (the latter word a favorite of Mr. Coulton), "The Secular Arm," "Impunity," "Fish Out of Water," "The Eternal Feminine," and "Rich and Poor." Mr. Coulton's data bring out some valid points. His evidence seems to show that when reforming abbots came the monks had a better table, the financial status of the house was firmer, and the buildings were in better repair. He points up the manifest evils of the *commendam* system and the consequent impoverishment of the monasteries, spiritually and temporally. He shows the increasing tendency of the reforming elements to call upon the secular arm for help, and he is probably right in sensing a connection between those events and the later initiative of the secular arm on its own authority. (He is not so convincing in showing the necessity or benefit of the secular arm on its own authority.) The background of a half-educated,

scrupulous Luther in a university chair and of a wandering, cantankerous Erasmus becomes clearer in the quotations of this book. To those who are familiar with the *Constitutions* of Ignatius of Loyola the data in this volume show that the saint knew (and understood) his history when he abolished the habit and choir for his religious and reserved the solemn profession to those who had been tried for a long time in religious life.

Mr. Coulton's habitual garrulousness, enhanced by his octogenarian senility, makes this poorly digested volume a real chore for the reader. His opening sentences to Chapters 27 and 28 are completely disconnected from the preceding. He repeats whole paragraphs culled from his earlier works and includes the same quotation on religious observance on pages 641 and 691. He was primarily a propagandist as he admits (p. 5), and as he re-iterates time and again in his effort to make things "better known." In pushing his propaganda points repeatedly he has submerged what might have been his main theme. He says Busch "condemns them all" and then proceeds to give two pages of testimony from Busch on the *good* convents (p. 130). Again, Coulton maintains that the power of the Papacy was "'beginning to hamper real freedom of thought" in the twelfth century (p. 556), proof of which is then taken from episcopal condemnations: but the impression has been left for the mind susceptible to propaganda. He enjoys building up a congeries of minor infractions of regulations and then topping it off with a single public scandal. Those who wish to avoid reading this boring book may find an adequate summary in the author's "The Last Generations of Mediaeval Monachism," *Speculum,* XVIII (October, 1943), 437-457.

The fact of the matter is that Coulton never came to understand the Catholic Church (which he perversely insists on calling the "Roman Catholic") nor did he understand the religious life. His was a brilliant mind which failed to come to grips with reality, a mind which bewailed a lack of definition in his adversaries while he never defined an idea; a mind which always saw ignorance or ill-faith in an adversary while not admiting one substantial error on his own part; a mind which shuddered at the *proprietas* of a nun having a teapot in her room without impunity and in the same breath spoke of the "persecution" of the anti-social Lollards. Mr. Coulton never understood the doctrine of the *opus operatum* in the sacraments, although he could have found it in the most elementary theology textbooks; and he made many conclusions from his wrong understanding of that doctrine. Nor did he understand the teaching of the Church on the ministry of the sacraments by an unworthy priest: there is a distinction between validity and liceity and the Church should not be accused of reversing her stand because Mr. Coulton did not understand this distinction. The author never understood (so far as one can gather) the doctrines of papal infallibility and the Immaculate Concep-

tion, nor the nature of tradition. Perhaps, it is this latter notion, that of the *Ecclesia docens,* which the author has missed most completely; the above teachings happen to mean what the Church says they mean, not what Mr. Coulton wishes to think they mean. It is for this reason that no unbiased, intelligent scholar can read Coulton without a concomitant study of Catholic theology.

The author treats St. Benedict's rule as if it were a Koran with no interpreting authority such as the Pope or Benedictine congregations themselves, and his Protestant horror at the modifications in the eating of flesh meat is a case in point. Granting that there are good and bad customs, Mr. Coulton's rejection of all custom as a basis of law seems strange coming from that country foremost in the development of the customary law. Many of his quotations from the visitatorial reports would amuse any religious who knows the visitor's job and who realizes that religious life is the striving for perfection, not the constant living in it; only the greenest of novices thinks that he has attained perfection when he enters the cloister. The quotations from the *Imitation* to show decadence would draw a smile from any nun, brother, scholastic, or priest who has ever drawn spiritual water from that sweet well.

In his first volume in this series Mr. Coulton said, "If I had chosen to represent the worst cases of ecclesiastical ignorance or perversity as typical, I could have filled these chapters with a *chronique scandaleuse,* true in detail but distorted as a whole." Prescinding from the truth of all details, the intelligent reader cannot fail to see that the author has realized his potentialities. With the insistence of a Lady Macbeth, the author, who always asserted his own objectivity and impartiality, ended his preface to Volume IV with the quotation, "C'est icy un livre de bonne foy, Lecteur." The "good faith" we charitably leave in the hands of Him Who is the only Judge of good faith.

HENRY A. CALLAHAN

Boston College

The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650. By C. R. Boxer. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; London, Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 535. $7.50.)

One of the most thrilling stories in the history of the Church is the chapter covered by Professor Boxer in this substantial book. He has traced Christianity in Japan from its introduction by St. Francis Xavier, through the years of prosperity and tribulation, to the time when it was driven into hiding and the country hermetically sealed against its reintroduction. He has examined most of the pertinent material in print in western languages and Japanese, and has written the best comprehensive survey to be found

in any one volume. He is not a Catholic and occasionally gives indication of a lack of intimate familiarity with Catholic ideals and practice. For example, he speaks of the *Spiritual Exercises* as being "studied" by members of the Jesuit novitiate (p. 46). Nor does he give much that is not already familiar to specialists. Very properly he pays substantial attention to St. Francis Xavier. He is warmly appreciative of Valignano and, rightly, plays up his important share in the early stages of the growth of the Church. He points out that Valignano regarded the Japanese as being so able that he deemed only the cream of the Jesuits suitable for missions among them. Valignano adjudged most of the peoples of Asia as being of so inferior a quality that Christians from them were not up to the high standards of membership in the Society of Jesus. To this he thought of the Japanese as exceptions. He favored admitting them to the society and stressed the formation of a native clergy. Yet Professor Boxer also notes that the Jesuits were slow to ordain Japanese, and that the latter were correspondingly dissatisfied. The author goes into the reluctant participation of the Jesuits in the foreign commerce of Japan, especially as bullion brokers between Canton and Macao on the one hand and Nagasaki on the other. They entered into it because of the desire of the Japanese for gold. He speaks of the unhappy dissensions between the Jesuits and the friars, and notes how they continued even after the outbreak of the persecutions which, presumably, should have constrained the missionaries to stand together. He records that the dissensions were aggravated by national rivalries, since the Jesuits were under Portuguese auspices and the Franciscans and Dominicans were from Spain *via* the Philippines. He also notes that the Jesuits and the friars drew their converts from different social strata, the former largely from the upper classes and the latter from the humbler elements of the population.

The author has a good deal to say of the cultural influence of the Jesuits and speaks of the excellent Japanese in which Christian literature was prepared. This last was due, so he says, to Japanese Christians rather than to the missionaries. He believes the proscription of Christianity to have been chiefly because of political factors. Japan had only recently been unified after several generations of civil strife and those who had brought the realm under one rule were suspicious of the foreign religion. They feared it as a possible preparation for foreign invasion and as subversive to feudal law and order. In the ensuing persecution, a prolonged agony with many martyrdoms, more of those of humble than of higher rank remained faithful. The book ends with useful appendices, extensive references to the source, and an admirable bibliography.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

Yale University

La Réforme des Carmes en France et Jean de Saint-Samson. By Suzanne-Marie Bouchereaux. (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1950. Pp. 490.)

Among a number of secondary reforms in the Carmelite Order following the Teresian reform of the sixteenth century was that which took the name of the observance of Rennes. Its founding father was Phillipe Thibault who at one time had petitioned the Pope to permit him to pass into the Carthusian Order, so dismayed was he at the laxity prevalent among the French Carmelites at the turn of the century. Instead of granting the friar's request Clement VIII sent the general of the Carmelites to France in 1604 with orders to institute a thorough-going reform. With the assistance of Thibault the general drew up statutes of reform which were made mandatory for all Carmelite convents in the Province of Touraine. From Touraine the new observance gradually spread throughout France, becoming probably the most vigorous element in the Carmelites of the Ancient Observance, as distinguished from the Discalced Carmelites of Spanish origin.

Roughly a third of Mlle. Bouchereaux's book is devoted to the Touraine reform proper; the remainder is a study of the lay brother the author acclaims as *maître* of the reform; viz., John of Saint-Samson. Blind and orphaned from childhood, from an early age consecrated to a life of prayer and penitence, John first came into contact with Carmelites when granted permission to play the organ in a Carmelite church near his adopted home in Paris. Far more advanced spiritually than most of the religious, John was scandalized to discover that the novices to whom he had occasion to speak were not being indoctrinated into the life of solitude and interior prayer which to his mind were the hallmarks of the Carmelite. Under the pretext of having them read to him, John introduced several of the younger men to the writings of some of the great contemplatives and began to attract attention not only as a teacher but as a mystic. Inspired by Thibault's efforts to restore the French Carmelites to the order's ancient purity. John at the age of thirty-five entered the convent of Dol in Brittany and subsequently joined Thibault at Rennes. There he remained until his death in 1636. He left behind him a rather considerable number of treatises on mysticism and the contemplative life, most of which remain unpublished, and a reputation of great sanctity.

Mlle. Bouchereaux's lengthy work is scholarly and boasts an impressive bibliography. To those interested in the history of Christian mysticism, it should be of value, but considered as a contribution to French ecclesiastical history of the seventeenth century it has little appeal. No attempt has been made, unfortunately, to place the Touraine reform and John of Saint-Samson in their larger setting: the celebrated renaissance of Cath-

olic life and thought in France at the beginning of the century. For the most part, the book is not a history of the Carmelite reform in France, or of John of Saint-Samson's place in the reform, but rather a tedious analysis of his writings and sources. That the author could have broadened the book's horizons considerably is suggested by a tantalizingly brief reference to the friendship between Marie de Medici and the Carmelite brother and the latter's alleged influence on the queen mother during the course of her quarrel with Louis XIII. For a blind and cloistered lay brother John of Saint-Samson exhibited on this occasion a startling insight into current political intrigues.

L. Léon Bernard

University of Notre Dame

François de Fénelon: Study of a Personality. By Katherine Day Little. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1951. Pp. x, 273. $3.50.)

The appearance of a work on Fénelon in English is in itself a welcome event, not only because of the interest in his personality but also because of the significance of the era and events in which he played such a considerable part. The author attempts a popular, three-dimensional study by considering Fénelon as a personality, his part in the era of Louis XIV, and his place in the world of ideas of the latter seventeenth century. Miss Little considers him as a scholar whose interests extended to both ecclesiastical and classical studies, as a personality in whom both modesty and ambition were combined, as a noble of refinement who detested luxurious extravagance and as an extremely acute political and spiritual advisor.

Fénelon's early life at Périgord and his education are sketched briefly in the first chapter. The influence of this education, especially his Sulpician training under M. Tronson, is treated rather superficially, whereas Fénelon's later Quietist entanglements must be understood against a background of a thorough knowledge of every phase of his earlier spiritual development. After having worked among the converts or *Nouvelles Catholiques,* it was through the influence of Bossuet that Fénelon in 1685 was appointed to direct a group of priests in converting the Protestants at Saintonge. This leads the author into a brief discussion of tolerance, the Edict of Nantes and its revocation, all of which are misunderstood. Louis XIV did not revoke the Edict of Nantes only for religious reasons, for the political activity of the Huguenots as a "state within a state" was considered by Louis as a danger to the stability of the realm.

The analysis of the temperaments and characters of both Fénelon and Bossuet is particularly fortunate in an otherwise ordinary book. Cleverly avoiding Brémond's excessive depreciation of Bossuet and his exaggerated

partiality for Fénelon, the author shows much thought and is eminently fair to both controversial figures. Fénelon was warm and earnest; Bossuet, theoretical and fiery; Fénelon, speculative and mystical; Bossuet, logical and stern. When the clash of these two personalities came, it was destined to be a momentous one in the annals of ecclesiastical history. The chapter entitled "Crosscurrents" is an attempt to explain briefly the four controversies in the seventeenth century which occupied the political as well as the religious stage: "Huguenot, Gallican, Jansenist and, finally, the Quietist quarrel between Fénelon and Bossuet, of which Mme. Guyon's spiritual difficulties were the precipitating incident." As the author correctly states, "these were so interwoven that one could not be considered without the other." She is also accurate in noting that "to understand Fénelon it is necessary to see him against this background of turmoil." Such a plan certainly indicates an understanding of the problem involved in a thorny period, but the author is less successful in handling that problem and in illustrating the significance of these four controversies upon the Quietist period of Fénelon's life and thought.

As an immediate background for the Quietism of Fénelon and Mme. Guyon, the author briefly discusses mysticism. The supernatural element in true mysticism is overlooked, whereas its affinity with Protestant evangelicalism is exaggerated. It is here that the thesis of the book is implied: that Fénelon was an example of rebellion against the traditional regimentation of meditation and an exponent of more unfettered spirituality akin to future Protestant evangelicalism. In the discussion of mysticism there is no mention of the condemnation of the Allumbrados in 1623 which, as Brémond claims, prepared the public to suspect illuminism in any mysticism; nor is any adequate distinction drawn between orthodox and false mysticism, whereas Quietism was actually an exaggeration of orthodox mysticism, a reaction against the formalized meditation of the Catholic Reformation and the Jesuits. No mention is made of the fact that in Fénelon's *Maxims of the Saints* the teaching of acquiescence in the soul's loss is basic, whereas the Single Act is fundamental in Mme. Guyon and in the *Guida spirituale* (not *Il spirituelle guida*) of Molinos. There are so many errors and omissions in the treatment of the various phases of the Quietist controversy that insufficient acquaintance with the subject is evident. Space forbids a complete enumeration of all but a few such errors and omissions: Pope Innocent XI was moderate toward Molinos because two of his secretaries, Favoriti and Casani, were allies of Molinos; the Jesuits opposed the Quietists because of their attack on meditation; in addition to opposing vocal prayer, the Quietists also disregarded images, the humanity of Christ, and meditation and insisted on the Single Act and acquiescence in the soul's damnation. These facts, and many others, should certainly have been taken into consideration.

While the author in discussing the controversial Mme. Guyon is fair and moderate and avoids both extremes in interpreting her character, there is too much evidence of hysteria in Guyon's life and work to discount it entirely as an explanation of her character. To the author, Mme. Guyon was an intelligent woman of goodness, sincerity, and integrity, but inclined to be indiscreet, illogical, and impractical. Much enlightenment and value, however, are to be found in the many quotations from Fénelon's correspondence with Mme. Guyon in addition to excerpts from the other works of Fénelon, especially those containing his ideas on spiritual direction and the administration of a diocese. In the chapter on the actual controversy between Fénelon and Bossuet, the author again avoids Brémond's excessive animosity toward Bossuet. But here again some of the elements essential to an understanding of that controversy are omitted. For instance, the essence of the controversy concerned the question as to whether love of God excluded interest in our own salvation; the unmannerly attitude of the Abbé Bossuet, Bossuet's nephew and representative in Rome, actually irritated Pope Innocent XII and caused him to be more lenient toward Fénelon and the Quietists. Although the author is aware of Brémond in all this she fails to make sufficient use of his masterful work, while relying too much on the antiquated and inaccurate works of such non-Catholics as Bishop Burnet, St. Cyres, and Upham.

In conclusion, this work on Fénelon, which gave such promise, is singularly disappointing because of the many evidences of superficiality and insufficient acquaintance with the many complicated phases of an admittedly difficult subject. The bibliography, although useful, is incomplete for Pourrat's work on Christian spirituality is omitted, as are the works of Dudon on Molinos and of Janet, de Broglie, and Crouslé on Fénelon. And since when is the work of Bausset the "official Catholic life" of Fénelon? We can only conclude that the definitive work in English on Fénelon still remains to be done.

GEORGE E. TIFFANY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Enthusiasm. A Chapter in the History of Religion with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. By R. A. Knox. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 622. $6.00.)

The task which Ronald Knox set before himself when he initially conceived this chapter in the history of religion over thirty years ago was monumental, indeed. He aimed at nothing short of a refutation of all the heresies that have distressed the Church since the dawn of Christianity. For many reasons, apart from the obvious limitations of available leisure and energy, he has considerably circumscribed his original plan. The

author's ultimate decision to deal with a relatively few points of view—"they were not exactly heresies and I have not refuted them"—was motivated by his desire to maintain a semblance of unity and by his mounting sympathy with the subjects of his prolonged and penetrating research. The more intimately he understood the leaders of a recurring type of religious deviationists, the more concerned he became "to find out why they thought as they did than to prove that it was wrong."

Though Monsignor Knox delves deeply into the early centuries to examine the vagaries of the Montanist and Donatist movements and extends his study down to fairly recent times to analyze such eccentric revivalist groups in America as the Shakers and the Irvingites, he devotes the bulk of his book to the more conspicuous tangential religious movements which appeared between the English civil wars and the French Revolution—the Quietists and Jansenists on the continent and their remotely analogous Protestant counterparts, the Quakers and Methodists in Britain. It is no small credit to the acuteness of the author's critical powers that he has detected in this strange melange of rigorism and antinomianism one definitely kindred trait.

"Enthusiasm," the phenomenon which loosely connects these otherwise highly diversified sects, is an extremely difficult characteristic to isolate, more difficult to define. Among the more evident and commonly disruptive symptoms of this spiritual malady is a tendency of its victims to look upon themselves as living in a world apart, an élite, God's elect. In cases where a devout circle of the chosen few has cultivated a legend of its own impeccability, actions which bring damnation to the worldling are held to be inculpable in the children of light. The mystical enthusiast, whether he be a Miguel de Molinos or a George Fox, staunchly maintains that a direct indication of God's will is communicated to him at every turn; the evangelical, regarding the Bible and not the inner light as the ultimate source of theological certainty, is equally enthusiastic and only a shade less morbidly distrustful of human reason in that he rejects the interpretations offered him by scholars. Prime emphasis is placed upon the emotions which must be stirred to their depths at frequent intervals by unaccountable feelings of compunction, joy, peace, etc. From these experiences stream such bizarre physical reactions as Circumcellian savagery, Camisard child prophecy, Jansenist convulsions, or Methodist swoonings. The basic trait, however, which seems to characterize enthusiasts of whatever age is appropriately designated by the author as "ultrasupernaturalism" and described as "the attempt to root up nature and plant the seed of grace in fallow soil, instead of grafting the supernatural on to the natural, after the timorous fashion of orthodoxy."

One of the chief merits of Monsignor Knox's presentation of this complex and touchy subject is that he never allows himself to exaggerate. His

judgments are as uniformly temperate and gracious as his style is lucid and polished. The frank admiration he shows for John Wesley's tremendous zeal and certain outstanding capabilities as a leader, does not blind him to the man's amazing credulity. Nor, on the other hand, does his recognition of Pascal's profound asceticism deter him from pointing out the gloomy pessimism reflected in the *Pensées* or questioning the sincerity of the *Provincial Letters.*

CLARENCE J. RYAN

Marquette University

Os primeiros Núncios no Brasil. By Hildebrando Accioly. (São Paulo: Instituto Progresso Editorial S. A. n. d. Pp. 329.)

Manoel de Oliveira Lima used to deplore the fact, as Father Pedro Leturia once remarked to this reviewer, that no one had ever exploited the many documents in the Vatican Archives relating to the history of Brazil, in particular those of the Rio nunciature. This is no longer the case with the appearance of the present book. Diplomat and historian like his brilliant fellow countryman, Oliveira Lima, the author of this study took advantage of his enforced stay in Rome during the war (1942-1944) to investigate the beginnings of papal diplomacy in Brazil. Later he was able to complete his research by consulting the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in his own country. The result is a well-balanced and substantial, if not exhaustive, account of the early diplomatic relations of the Holy See with Brazil which will be welcomed by students of Latin American history.

The book is divided into three parts in order to treat separately of the first three nuncios sent to Brazil, namely, Lourenço Caleppi, Gianfrancesco Maresfoschi, and Pietro Ostini, all of whom became cardinals as nuncios of the first class. Of the three nuncios, Archbishop Caleppi (pp. 19-128), who was nuncio in Brazil from 1808 to 1816, had by far the most successful and distinguished career. This was due to his more than ordinary qualities and previous diplomatic experience in Europe. The first nuncio on American soil found himself already in difficult times when in 1802 he succeeded Bartolomeo Pacca as nuncio to the court of Lisbon. But when the Napoleonic invasion forced the Braganza Court to transfer its residence to Brazil, the nuncio felt compelled to follow in spite of his advanced age. As dean of the diplomatic corps in Rio and close friend of the king, Caleppi exercised considerable influence. His reward was the cardinal's hat, but before he could return to Rome he suddenly died at the age of seventy-five. In comparison with Caleppi, the career of Archbishop Maresfoschi (1818-1821) was much less distinguished, even disappointing to the Holy See (pp. 129-212). Before a successor to Maresfoschi could be appointed the Braganzas had returned to Lisbon, Auditor Giuseppe

Cherubini meanwhile serving as pro-nuncio. He sent interesting reports on the Luso-Brazilian negotiations which culminated in the separation of Brazil from the mother country and her recognition as a separate kingdom (pp. 192-210).

Archbishop Ostini's career (1830-1832) receives the lengthiest treatment if only because of the greater abundance of material on his nunciature (pp. 213-326). The author makes no more than passing mention of the recognition of Brazil by the Holy See, nor does he discuss the efforts of Brazil's first representative in Rome, Monsignor Francisco Corrêa Vidigal, in this regard. Ostini's much delayed appointment and arrival in Brazil is discussed at length, but this reviewer cannot agree with the author's statement that "In the beginning it seems that the Roman curia hesitated a great deal in sending a nuncio to Brazil, or thought perhaps of naming someone who might serve at the same time both here and in Lisbon" (p. 213). The author does not document this statement, which is commonly enough found. In a study which appeared simultaneously with that of Accioly's on the influence of the Rio nunciature as the seat of the first apostolic delegation for Spanish America, the present reviewer maintained that the Holy See could hardly have been more prompt, or done more, in obtaining the nomination of a nuncio for Brazil, once it had recognized the country, which it did on January 23, 1826. Within three months, on May 8, the first request was made by the Cardinal Secretary of State for Brazil to receive a nuncio, a request that normally should have originated with Monsignor Vidigal had he been at all in sympathy with the sending of a nuncio. Such delay as there was if, indeed, it may be called delay considering diplomatic routine, is explained by the fact that a successor to the Lisbon nuncio, Monsignor Franzoni, was being considered, and the Holy See as afterwards it explained, wished to take the opportunity of dividing the former jurisdiction of the Lisbon nunciature which had included Brazil. Then there was the question of the exclusion of the name of former pro-nuncio Cherubini from the *terna* prepared for the new Lisbon appointee. Meanwhile, King John VI died on March 10, 1826. That a nuncio was ever sent was due to the direct and persistent initiative of the Holy See, and that over the head of Monsignor Vidigal in Rome whose attitude amounted to that of an obstructionist.

The author evidently lacked space to give more than summary treatment to Ostini's work as first apostolic delegate to Spanish America (pp. 249-59). The nuncio's instructions which are noted as not found (p. 237, n. 1) are in the Archives of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. The notes occur after each chapter of this work and the bibliography is not exhaustive.

WILLIAM J. COLEMAN

Colegio Gonzalo Correa
Molina, Chile

The Holy See and the Irish Movement for Repeal of the Union with England, 1829-1847. By John F. Broderick, S.J. [Analecta Gregoriana. Volume LV.] (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana. 1951. Pp. xxvii, 237. $2.50.)

One of the steps leading to the latest general election in Ireland, public disapproval expressed by the Catholic hierarchy of a proposed national health scheme, has provided occasion for renewed debate on the role of churchmen in politics. The problem is by no means an exclusively Irish one. But in John Bull's other and long embattled island the traditionally close association of priest with layman in protest against common grievances has often given it dramatic urgency.

Father Broderick's disseretation, presented to the Faculty of Ecclesiastical History at the Gregorian University, has, therefore, a particular pertinence, for it is a well-measured appraisal of the relation of the Irish clergy and of the Holy See to Daniel O'Connell's second great agitation, that for repeal of the Union. The struggle for restoration of an independent Irish parliament, from 1829 to 1847, brought back to the political platform many bishops and priests who had been the backbone of O'Connell's Catholic Association, the organization which forced from a reluctant British government Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Since the emancipation issue was patently religious as well as political, the participation of the clergy had been unanimous. But in the repeal agitation, although many of the bishops and the great majority of the priests, saw in an independent parliament the cure for the prevalent misery and degradation of their people, and consequently a cause with quite definite moral implications, some of them regarded it as purely political and remained aloof. Rome, partly because of lack of realization of the complex nature of the Irish problem, but mainly as a result of pressure from the British government, sided with the "non-political" bishops, and intervened by means of two letters in 1839 and 1844 from the Prefect of Propaganda to the Primate of Ireland instructing the latter to admonish the repeal prelates. The intervention was ineffectual. The clergy continued as active members of the Repeal Association even after the decline of the movement in 1844.

From his researches in the Archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, the Vatican Archives and in the Public Record Office, London, Father Broderick produces a good account of the indirect methods by which the British Foreign Office, in making its wishes known to the Holy See, was successful not only in prompting the two letters, but also in blocking the appointment of potential anti-government bishops in Ireland. But he concludes that Rome had no influence on the growth or decline of the repeal agitation and, accordingly, he devotes greater space to the domestic activities of the Irish clergy. Here his study makes its main con-

tribution and, incidentally, calls for a rephrasing of the title for proper emphasis. The participation of the clergy is an aspect of the repeal movement which heretofore has not been adequately studied. Father Broderick does much, and does it well, to remedy the defect. He accumulates evidence, in what sometimes becomes a protracted listing of numbers of bishops and priests, and digests of their speeches and public letters, to prove the essential nature of the priestly contribution to the agitation and to demonstrate the fundamental division of opinion among the hierarchy. He does so principally from printed sources, particularly Irish newspapers. Manuscript material such as the O'Connell Papers in University College and the National Library, Dublin, and the Bishop Blake Papers, Bishop's House, Newry, would have enabled him to present a valuable behind-the-scenes appreciation for this phase of his work, although it would not have undermined the validity of his main conclusions.

JAMES A. REYNOLDS

Archbishop Stepinac High School
White Plains, New York

Newman at Oxford: His Religious Development. By R. D. Middleton. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 284. $5.00.)

Mr. Middleton in his preface anticipates the most obvious criticism which might be made of this volume by saying that his book "lays no claim to originality. . . . It is merely an attempt to trace the course of Newman's thought as it appears in his published writings and letters, some of which are here published for the first time, up to the point at which he left our Communion." The task the author sets for himself he performs very well. He carefully redraws the portrait so often drawn by other authors, adding a detail here and there, distributing his shadow and light a little differently. But the picture which emerges is essentially the same as that with which we have been long familiar.

One of the most interesting additions to the Newman story is contained in a rather long appendix entitled "Echoes of Tract Ninety," which gives us the correspondence—"carefully kept for more than four-score years by the succeeding Provosts of Oriel College"—between Pusey, Hawkins, and Newman relative to the condemnation of the famous tract by the heads of houses of Oxford. It must be said, however, that although the correspondence gives interesting information concerning the event it treats, it serves to throw light on the character and personality of Pusey rather than on that of Newman.

The author writes of Newman as a great Anglican who probably could have been retained within the Anglican fold if the bishops and the authori-

ties of Oxford had possessed broader vision and more consideration. But to write thus is to miss the whole point of Newman's religious development at Oxford. Apparently Mr. Middleton cannot bring himself to believe that Newman's departure was due to intellectual conviction, to which he was driven by inexorable logic, and was not primarily a matter of personalities and politics. The truth is that events had shown Newman that his position as one holding Catholic dogma within the Anglican Church was untenable. The author seems to think that the soundness of Newman's views during his Anglican period has been proved by subsequent events. He says: "The Oxford movement did not collapse with Newman's conversion. . . . When the storm had cleared the movement gained in strength and freedom until at last it changed the entire face of the Church of England. . . ." It is true that the Church of England seems to be more tolerant of those who now hold the one-time views of Newman and his Anglican associates. But if we are to judge the Church by its bishops and its official spokesmen—and to Newman they were the ones who counted—we can only say that the Church of England, with its Barnes, its Inge, its Johnson, is today precisely what it was on the day when Newman left it.

In his final pages Mr. Middleton is careful to dwell upon the difficulties and disappointments Newman met with after his conversion. He says that "in the privacy of a talk with his friends he (Newman) did not hesitate to speak freely of his 'enemies.' In a letter to the Duke of Norfolk he said he had more to try and afflict him in his Roman life than in his Anglican." He quotes Frederick Rogers (Lord Blachford) as saying that "Newman was being thrown away by the Communion to which he devoted himself and evidently sensible that he is so thrown away." He adds that "Newman was indeed by training and temperament unfitted for the life of a Roman priest." And he cites as instances of his frustration his attempt to found a Catholic university in Ireland, his scheme for a fresh translation of the Vulgate, his proposed elevation to the episcopate, and his plan to found a Catholic college or oratory at Oxford. But he seems to forget that Newman at the very time of his conversion had foreseen disappointments and heartaches as painful as these. And he neglects to quote Newman's own words, written as the opening paragraph of the last part of the *Apologia* in 1864, when he had already met with his greatest disapointments: "From the time I became a Catholic I have been in perfect peace and contentment. . . . I never have had one doubt . . . it was like coming into port after a rough sea; and my happiness *on that score* (and who that knows Newman can doubt that for him religious certitude was the all important point?) remains to this day without interruption." To quote with approval the statement of Bloxam, made at the time of Newman's death, that "he did more good to the Church of England than he was allowed to do in the Church of Rome," is to ignore the tremendous

influence which Newman has exerted and to this day continues to exert in the Catholic Church, particularly in the English-speaking world.

The virtue of Mr. Middleton's book is that, while he is treating of Newman's Anglican days, he faithfully allows Newman to speak for himself. Its chief defect is that, when he leaves his proper subject and ventures into Newman's Catholic period, he can see things only through his own Anglican eyes. Lovers of Newman, however, will undoubtedly wish to add this volume to their library for the sake of the new things, comparatively few though they be, which it brings to them.

✠ LAWRENCE J. SHEHAN
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore

Catherine McAuley, the First Sister of Mercy. By Roland Burke Savage, S.J. (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1950. Pp. xii, 434. 15/-.)

The period from 1781 to 1841 was an exciting era in the history of Ireland. It saw the restoration of an independent Irish parliament and the classical age of Georgian Dublin as a national capital, the tragic rebellion of 1798 and the subsequent Act of Union with England, the successful agitation of Daniel O'Connell for Catholic Emancipation, and part of his second, ill-fated struggle for repeal of the union. The years also form the life-span of an extraordinary woman, whose name seldom appears in the history books but whose impact on the national life has proved in many ways as momentous as that of Grattan, Flood, Tone, Emmet, and O'Connell. She was Catherine McAuley, an Irish woman with a vision and a mission comparable to those of her famous contemporary, the total abstinence crusader, Father Mathew.

In 1827, at the age of forty-six, and after inheriting a tidy fortune, Catherine McAuley grouped around her a small band of lay women and opened in Baggot Street, Dublin, her first House of Mercy. Four years later, to insure the permanence of her work, and in spite of her strong prejudice against all nuns, she and her followers became a religious community devoted, under the title of Sisters of Mercy, to three principal aims: the education of girls, the care of young women, and relief of the sick poor. Ireland had a desperate need of social and religious exertion of the type Catherine intended, but it is as much the personal attraction and dedication of the woman herself as the need that explains the rapid expansion of her community in the remaining ten years of her life. It is her sanctity and her practical program of social charity that account for the even more phenomenal growth of her institute after her death. Today her daughters, over 23,000 of them in 1,509 convents throughout the world, form the second largest sisterhood within the Catholic Church.

Father Savage has done well by this unrecognized pioneer of the active religious life for women. He rescues her from the fanciful and perfervid extravagancies of previous biographers, gives a faithful and penetrating account of the growth of her own ideal and its realization in her institute, and, incidentally, presents a good background of social conditions in early nineteenth-century Dublin. He has done this under the handicap of meager sources, especially for the first part of his work. A few weeks before her death Mother McAuley destroyed all her personal papers. The main body of material for her life is, therefore, her letters to her nuns, some hundreds of which have been preserved. When Father Savage relies on them, as he does for a description of the final period of her life when she was engaged in establishing foundations of her community in Ireland and England, she emerges a warmly human as well as a supernaturally attractive person. Frequently, however, the obvious moralistic flavor of the book, with its repeated "dear reader" asides, substitutes for the stench of Dublin slums and fever hospitals a conventional, impersonal "odour of sanctity."

JAMES A. REYNOLDS

Archbishop Stepinac High School
White Plains, New York

Newman's University: Idea and Reality. By Fergal McGrath, S.J. (New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1951. Pp. xv, 537. $7.00.)

This volume, originally presented as a doctoral dissertation at Oxford, is a work of impressive scholarship. Father McGrath had access to a rich collection of sources which he has used in a very intelligent manner. His object was to determine what was Newman's concept of the university that he was called to establish in Dublin and, secondly, to inquire into the question of how well the institution that came into being fulfilled his ideal. In this double objective the author endeavored to supplement and, where necessary, to correct the account of this period of Newman's life as given in Ward's biography. He has succeeded admirably. There are introductory chapters given to a consideration of the background for the university question, the core of the book that gives a chronological and interpretative account of the development of the university, and a final evaluation of what Newman achieved.

In his treatment of every aspect of the complex and controversial question of Newman's ideal and the practical measures to reach it, Father McGrath is thorough and objective. He does not overemphasize either the personal factors or the differences in objectives of the rector and some of the Irish bishops. Both had a part in the almost regular postponement of action and each is amply considered by the author. So, too, the questions

of the role of the élite in the proposed university, the part of English and Irish culture, the influence of politics and, particularly, the orthodoxy of Newman's educational theories—all these are handled in a thoroughly scholarly manner.

Although the university was destined not to be permanently established, it occasioned the writing of the greatest English classic on university education. Moreover, the reader of this book has put before him a wealth of Newman's letters where he will find more of the same superb prose.

BERNARD J. KOHLBRENNER

University of Notre Dame

Through My Gift. The Life of Mother Frances Schervier. By Theodore Maynard. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1951. Pp. 318. $3.50.)

When reading this biography one is involuntarily tempted to compare it with the same author's brilliantly written life of Mother Cabrini. Mother Schervier and Frances Cabrini, both European foundresses of religious orders, almost from the beginning of their foundations, were compelled by their zeal to sail to American shores to assist and relieve their emigrated poor countrymen, the Germans and Italians, in their sicknesses and sufferings. It is interesting to follow the author from the historical background of Aix-la-Chapelle, where Mother Frances grew up and started her primitive works, to her first hospital opened at Cincinnati in 1858. Mr. Maynard makes the American reader familiar with the amazing development of the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis in the United States by using the American annals of the congregation. The book is not so much a eulogy for a saint-to-be; the general devotional reader may expect more than the single (but solid) chapter on "The Large Heart." It is the convincing narration of a biographer who cannot help but limn the life of one whom he feels was an extraordinary woman.

If the reviewer misses something here, it is up-to-date statistics of all the hospitals, institutions, and convents and the number of sisters in this country, as well as the general status of the whole order. Such data would show the remarkable growth of the sisters in a little over a hundred years. Some mistakes may be mentioned: Burtscheid, not Burtschied (p. 67); further *up* the river, not *down* (p. 145); Oberkamp, not Overkamp, who was the secretary general of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein (p. 186); Rethmann, not Bethmann, of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, not of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Mary (p. 184 ff.). Moreover, Cahensly was a layman, not a priest, and founder of the St. Raphael's Society for Emigrants. It was he whom Mother Frances induced to speak at the German Catholic national convention in 1865 (not 1862). The note on page 185 is misleading: Cahensly resisted a *forced*

Americanization, as by preserving the mother tongue among emigrants he hoped to preserve their faith; then more correctly it should be German emperor, not Emperor of Germany (p. 281); and finally von Pless, not von Press (p. 282).

GEORGE TIMPE

Pallottine House of Studies
Washington

Monseigneur Fuzet, archevêque de Rouen. Volume II. *L'episcopat Rouen et les grands questions politiques de l'epoque, 1899-1915.* By Canon Charles Cardonnier. (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils. 1950. Pp. 369.)

This, the second volume of Canon Cardonnier's biography of Rouen's republican archbishop, is packed with meat for the student of the third republic. The volume treats of Fuzet's career as Archbishop of Rouen from 1899 to his death in 1915 in the midst of World War I.

The attitude of Archbishop Fuzet toward the persecution launched by the anti-Catholic politicians of the third republic is very interesting. A staunch Catholic, Fuzet seems to have been somewhat of an appeaser in his attitude toward the persecution. He advised the congregations to submit; he refused to sign an appeal of the bishops to protest against the anti-Catholic legislation; he even deprecated the importance of Catholic education. And finally, when the concordat crashed in 1905, he was quick to try to arrange a new *modus vivendi* by forming *associations cultuelles.* Of course, when Pope Pius X disapproved, he dropped the project. This general attitude so irritated many French Catholics that as early as 1895 it was rumored that the Archbishop of Rouen was a Freemason! The bishops of France took this so seriously than an investigation was held. The Jesuits, to whom the investigation had been entrusted, found, needless to say, that there was no basis to the rumor. Whether mistaken or not in some of his policies, Archbishop Fuzet was a loyal son of the Church.

If in his relationship with the state he seemed sometimes to bend over backwards, Fuzet was very firm, indeed, in dealing with the doctrinal vagaries. He zealously fulfilled Leo XIII's desire that St. Thomas should be the master of Catholic theology and philosophy, and he acted in the full spirit of Pius X in crushing modernism in his archdiocese. Indeed, the Archbishop of Rouen fought not only for dogma, but for pious belief. He crossed swords with the historian, Vacandard, who had questioned the historicity of St. Mary Magdalen's voyage to France and he also defended the authenticity of the Holy Shroud of Turin.

Canon Cardonnier has presented an objective study of this interesting personality. Fuzet was, perhaps, something of a stormy petrel, and certainly a man of decided opinions, but to his intimates he was kind and

considerate. This biography will be helpful to students of the modern Church and to all those interested in France. Unfortunately, it has no index.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER

Loyola University
Los Angeles

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Saint Ignace: Canadian Altar of Martyrdom. By William S. Fox and Wilfrid Jury. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd. 1949. Pp. xvi, 173, $3.00.)

During the past decade extraordinary progress has been made in the excavations, or rather, "uncoverings," in the Huron country sanctified by the labors and blood of the North American martyrs and their no less heroic Jesuit comrades. The Huron country of 1615-1649 corresponds to what is known as Simcoe County, Ontario, Canada. It offers a unique opportunity to study the Amerinds in their first contacts with Europeans for two reasons: first, the Jesuit missioners wrote minute descriptions of Indian life in their annual "Relations" which were later published in the seventy-two volumes of the *Jesuit Relations;* second, the Indian habitations and implements, of more than 300 years ago, are now being recovered from the earth.

The scientific work really began in 1940, when Kenneth E. Kidd of the Royal Ontario Museum, at the invitation and with the collaboration of the Jesuit fathers of Upper Canada, undertook the excavations of Fort Sainte-Marie, the home of the missioners from 1639 until its voluntary destruction in 1649. Wilfrid Jury, archeological curator of the University of Western Ontario, assisted by his wife, Elsie Jury, was commissioned by the Jesuits to explore the full extent of the habitation of Sainte-Marie. From 1948 up to 1951 he has succeeded in finding amazing verifications of the historical documents.

The present volume, issued jointly by Dr. Fox, former president of the University of Western Ontario and Mr. Jury, describes the work accomplished by the latter and the Jesuits of the Canadian Martyrs' Shrine in 1946. The exact site of the martyrdoms of St. Jean de Brébeuf and St. Gabriel Lalemant had been under dispute for seventy-five years. In their accounts the missioners indicated distances but not directions. In his monumental work, *Old Huronia* (Toronto, 1908), E. Arthur Jones, S.J., argued mathematically as well as vehemently in favor of a site that was discarded twenty years later. Various locations for the village of martyrdom were rejected until a woodsman, Louis Arpin, pointed out a spur of

land that nearly answered the description of 300 years ago in the *Relations*. Further explorations revealed a nearby field that was tested by W. J. Wintemberg in 1937, and thoroughly excavated by Mr. Jury. There can now remain not the slightest doubt, not only about the site of St. Ignace II but also about the exact spots of the martyrdoms, on March 16 and 17, 1649.

In the first part of the present volume, Dr. Fox offers a compressed history of the relationships between the Huron nations, the French, and the Jesuit missioners. The scope is far too comprehensive for the space and the purpose of the book. In the second part, in collaboration, the authors present the final report of Mr. Jury's findings and conclusions. These are illustrated by plates and diagrams. The reviewer can attest to the scientific care of Mr. Jury in the "uncovering' of the village site and to his accuracy in his report.

St. Ignace II was a new village not fully inhabited at the time of its destruction. The palisades and defense works, as well as its longhouses, show the French influence in Huron building. St. Jean de Brébeuf was undoubtedly the architect of the town where he was martyred. Very few French artifacts or Indian remains were found on the site. But all the factors identifying the location, and the ash beds, post moulds, etc., found beneath the surface prove conclusively that this field, escarped on three sides by the little Sturgeon River, is the place where St. Jean and St. Gabriel were tortured and killed by the Iroquois and from which their souls were received and welcomed by God.

FRANCIS X. TALBOT

St. Aloysius Church
Washington

The Early Days of Maryknoll. By Raymond A. Lane. (New York: David McKay Co. 1951. Pp. viii, 311. $3.00.)

The foundation and formative period of religious communities in the annals of American Catholic history have frequently not been recorded until a century or more of activity and growth have taken place. In the meantime the personalities associated with the development of a new project have often passed on to their reward. Living bonds with the past have thus been severed. Fortunately, the officials of Maryknoll have found it possible to present an account of the society's origins compiled by one of their number who knew intimately the zealous founders, James Anthony Walsh and Thomas Frederick Price.

Bishop Raymond A. Lane, the author of this work, entered the seminary on the Hudson in 1913, one year after its opening. Now after nearly two

decades of pioneer missionary activity in the Far East, as the third Superior General of Maryknoll, he is in an excellent position to interpret the problems, trials, and joys which the launching of this unique enterprise in the story of American Catholicism produced. He was trained in the school of the founders and had many personal contacts with them. He had access also to the many letters and addresses of Father Walsh. Much of this material has been incorporated into his book.

This attractive presentation visibly demonstrates how the Catholic Church in the United States came of age at the beginning of the present century. Previously European mission units, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the Ludwig-Missionsverein, and the Leopoldine Society had rendered important spiritual and financial help for the struggling immigrant Church in the new world. By 1910 the "brick and mortar" period had advanced so far that the leaders who inspired Maryknoll believed the time opportune to inaugurate a movement which would permit American Catholics to take an active part in fostering the world-wide mission of the Church. The subsequent growth of the society has verified Father Walsh's conviction that "American boys and girls would gladly sacrifice themselves for the work of Christ anywhere, just as young men and women of other nations were doing."

Although the author has primarily traced the early record of Maryknoll in this volume, his last two chapters bring the account to 1950. He has thus indicated the critical impact which the second world war and the outbreak of hostilities in Korea have had upon missionary activity in the Orient. This work is intended to serve as a family book for all associated and interested in the promotion of the society's mission program. Written in a buoyant and merry style, it is certain to have wide appeal for many American readers.

VINCENT G. TEGEDER

St. John's University
Collegeville

Pioneer in Purple. By George Boyle. (Montreal: Palm Publishers Press Services Ltd. 1951. Pp. xi, 290. $3.50.)

The history of the Church in Canada goes back to the earliest days of French exploration and settlement. For many years it centered around the historic See of Quebec, whose bishops until 1819 governed the then settled parts of the country. The first division came in that year with the establishment of the Vicariate of Nova Scotia, and this was followed in 1827 by the establishment of the Diocese of Kingston. With the increase in population diocese after diocese followed, until there are now sixty archdioceses, dioceses, and vicariates. The complete story of the spread

of the Church in both east and west has not yet been told. French-speaking Canada has guarded its historical records with care, but the same attention has not always been given in the rest of Canada. As each decade passes the sources for this history are disappearing.

The work of Mr. Boyle is very timely in placing in permanent form the story of the great pioneer, Archbishop Neil MacNeil. *Pioneer in Purple* is an apt description of the man who as parish priest, university rector, vicar apostolic, bishop, and archbishop, blazed a trail from Newfoundland to Vancouver, and finally governed for twenty years the See of Toronto. The portrait that emerges is that of a sort of modern St. Paul. No human problem was outside the interest and concern of Archbishop MacNeil. The many quotations from his letters show the driving force of his life, viz., charity in all the fullness of St. Paul. The problems of his day and of the future could only be solved by the application to each of them of the social teachings of the Church. As his successor at Toronto, James Cardinal McGuigan, states in the foreword, ". . . He saw the virtue of charity not simply as directing the haves to give liberally to the have-nots, not simply as calling for the kind treatment by one individual of others, but as the principle which should inform all personal conduct and social policy. The duties of patriotism and citizenship, he believed, are duties of charity."

The author has succeeded admirably in introducing the reader to an absorbing story. The numerous quotations from the archbishop's letters reveal his views on the many problems of his day. But it has not been possible within the limits of this volume for Mr. Boyle to give more than a glance at Archbishop MacNeil and his times. All interested in the story of the Church in Canada will encourage the author to undertake a future work which will paint in detail the picture of this great pioneer.

HUGH J. SOMERS

St. Francis Xavier University
Antigonish

GENERAL HISTORY

Troy: General Introduction. The First and Second Settlement. By Carl W. Blegen. John L. Caskey, Marion Rawson, Jerome Sperling. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1950. Volume I, Part 1: Text. Pp. 396; Volume I, Part 2: Plates: 473 numbered illustrations, maps and plans. $36.00.)

These volumes inaugurate the publication on a grand scale of the results of the seven archaeological campaigns carried out at Hisarlik—the site of Homeric Troy—by the University of Cincinnati in the years 1932-

1938. From 1870 to 1894 a series of archaeological campaigns were conducted in this area by Schliemann and then by his assistant and successor Dörpeld. However, the new discoveries in Greece, the Cyclades, and Central Asia Minor, as well as in Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, together with the greatly improved methods of archaeological exploration and excavation, made it increasingly desirable to reinvestigate the Hisarlik site more thoroughly and systematically.

The Cincinnati expedition had three main objectives: 1) "the reexamination of the whole problem of Trojan stratification in the light of present-day knowledge of Aegean archaeology;" 2) "to renew and to intensify the search for preclassical tombs in the immediate neighborhood of Troy;" 3) the exploration of the whole Troad and the mapping of its ancient sites.

The expedition was elaborately planned as to staff, organization, and equipment, and it had sufficient funds to carry on its work on a large scale basis. In the campaign of 1933, e.g., a hundred laborers were employed and more than 10,000 carloads of earth were removed. Furthermore, adequate provision was made for the photographing, classification, restoration, and storing of the huge mass of archaeological material discovered, including some human skeletal remains. These finds cover a period of more than 3.000 years. Apart from coins and potsherds, there are 3,500 miscellaneous items.

The Cincinnati expedition has been successful "beyond expectation" in the attainment of its first and most important objective. In spite of the great damage caused—however unwittingly—by the earlier excavations, it was possible to establish the succession and differentiation of the settlements at Hisarlik on a much more definite and sounder basis. Forty-six distinct strata of occupation have been identified and distributed as follows: ten to Troy I, seven to Troy II, four to Troy III, five to Troy IV, four to Troy V, eight to Troy VI, one to Troy VIIa, two to Troy VIIb, two to Troy VIII, and three to Troy IX. Dörpeld's classification of nine principal layers is retained because it has become traditional, but it needs more or less serious modification and correction. The results of the expedition are being published in elaborate detail according to the following plan. Volume I, in two parts, after a general introduction, covers Troy I and II. Volume II will cover Troy III-V; Volume III, Troy VI, and Volume IV, Troy VIIa-IX. Each of these volumes will likewise have two parts. Volume V will contain a general index. A number of supplementary studies of a technical nature are also planned. One of these, in fact, a detailed study of the human skeletal remains by a physical anthropologist, has already appeared.

To emphasize the high standard of archaeological scholarship exhibited is scarcely necessary. Minute accuracy in description and classification,

clarity of exposition, the profusion of excellent plates and plans, combined with the splendid typographical and editorial work of the Princeton University Press, make these sumptuous volumes masterpieces of their kind.

And yet two disquieting thoughts trouble the reviewer. In the first place, the series of volumes as planned, Professor Blegen states in the general introduction (I, 1, 25), is to be almost exclusively a report of the work of the Cincinnati expedition at Troy. No attempt has been made to collate systematically or reassign to its proper place the material already contained in the Schliemann Collection. Furthermore, while some attention has been given to the evidence furnished by other Anatolian and Aegean sites and to the question of parallels and relationships, "it has not been our purpose to write a history of Asia Minor in preclassical times." It is certainly to be hoped that Professor Blegen and his associates will reconsider this position. The great mass of archaeological data described and illustrated in these volumes is very interesting and valuable in itself, but it will have much greater significance if it is systematically correlated with all other pertinent data and then utilized as the basis for a general interpretation or synthesis. To attempt such a synthesis for the preclassical period at least and to publish it somewhere in this work, would seem to be the responsibility and duty of a group of scholars who have acquired the special competence for the task. In the second place, the cost of *Troy*, when completed, will be much beyond the purses of all but a few wealthy individuals and the larger libraries. If it is really necessary to publish the results of the archaeological excavations at Troy in such detail, it is strongly suggested that a one-volume summary like Wace's admirable *Mycenae* be prepared at a later date so that the essential content of the larger work may be made more practically accessible.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

The Psychology of Art: I, *Museum without Walls;* II, *The Creative Act;* III, *The Twilight of the Absolute.* By André Malraux. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. Three Volumes. Pp. 160; 228; 280. $12.50 a volume.)

Malraux's three handsome volumes, published as No. XXIV of the Bollingen Series, constitute an anthology of art. They will appeal to book-lovers for their wealth of illustration, much of it in color. The plates represent a choice selection of eastern and western, of ancient and modern, of familiar and unfamiliar, masterpieces. The text partakes of the same anthological character. It is so written that sections may be read quite independently and at random. It is easy to imagine these volumes as proper

ornaments of drawing room tables, suitable for casual browsing. The somewhat apothegmatic style of the text makes it possible for the reader to begin and to end almost anywhere, yet to pick up something of interest. Wherever he opens the pages he will come upon striking reproductions.

The book will repay careful reading, too, if not for the problems it solves, at least for those it raises. But its frequent change of subject and rapid coming to conclusions are particularly well adapted to the needs of the hasty and desultory readers with whom the present day abounds. Even they will gain some clear ideas. Malraux makes it very plain, e.g., how art collecting has changed the portrait into a picture, the sculptured saint into a statue, etc.; further, how through improvements in reproducing works of art each collection is supplemented for us by others available in reproductions, so that we have at hand vicariously a museum of the whole range of art, a museum without walls. Also Malraux demonstrates how artists the most creative have begun from the art of others, not from nature—how art begets art. Finally he points out how our present enlarging horizons have brought it about that there is no longer an absolute, as the Greek was formerly supposed to be.

The book reveals throughout a specifically Parisian point of view. Yet the riches of collections in Paris, and the accompanying breadth of acquaintance with the arts, prevent this from being a narrow outlook. Current Parisian enthusiasms—current, that is, for Malraux, who is not a young man—account for certain emphases and compensating apathies. Such emphases fall on Georges de Latour and on Celtic coins. Contrariwise, so great an artist as Dürer receives indifferent treatment. This is not at all regrettable. For enthusiasms are important; and it is hard to see how more could have been encompassed in the three volumes. The work will, I hope, stimulate a great deal of thought and discussion. Especially worthy of serious attention is what seems to me the major thesis of Malraux: that the world of art, far from being a mirror of the actual world, is not even a presentation of a world which if actual would be desirable, but, rather, a world separate and autonomous.

JOHN SHAPLEY

The Catholic University of America

Caroline Chisholm. By Margaret Kiddle. (Melbourne: At the University Press. 1950. Pp. 295. 21s.)

This account of the career of Australia's most noted pioneer woman should be of great interest to all American women who have aspirations to public life. Catholic women will be doubly interested, since the sturdy faith of convert Caroline Chisholm carried her bravely over numerous obstacles at the outset of her public career, gave her a balancing humility

during her triumphs, and was a source of consolation during her last days in oblivion. In the years when Australia was lifting itself from the status of a penal colony to that of a respected settlement, Scottish-born Mrs. Chisholm, on her own initiative, turned her attention to needed social service. Her first efforts were aimed at protecting young women, and in aiding them and other immigrants in the passage from the crowded coastal towns to the interior where employment awaited them. Her success in this enterprise presaged other successful efforts which she carried through with the assistance of her husband who had retired from the British navy with the rank of captain in the meantime. Despite her public activities, there were no complaints that she neglected her large family.

The Chisholms traveled to England where they worked for almost eight years at their own expense toward the betterment of Australian colonization. Mrs. Chisholm's appearance before government officials and parliamentary committees always made a solid impression because of the scientific manner of the social investigations on which her testimony was based. She did much good directly; indirectly she did perhaps even more, in acquainting the English public with the possibilities of life "down under." The reader thus learns much of the economic history of Australia, and of the wider aspects of British colonial problems and policies of the time. And he is reminded, too, of the scant knowledge even well-read Americans have of the history and heroes of the British Dominions.

Margaret Kiddle has written an interesting, restrained, and scholarly account of the achievements of her heroine. She had hoped to write a personal biography, but was unable, after a search of eight years, to trace Mrs. Chisholm's personal papers. May she find them, as readers will want to know even more of this distinguished woman. An American edition is promised. This reviewer would like to suggest the insertion of a fly-leaf glossary of Australian terms. The book should be read with a map of Australia at hand. It deserves a wide circulation.

WILLIAM B. FLAHERTY

Regis College
Denver

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Discourses of Niccolò Machiavelli. Translated by Leslie J. Walker, S.J., and edited by W. Stark. Two Volumes. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 585; 390. $15.00.)

This magnificent edition of the *Discourses* provides a tremendous contribution toward a more accurate interpretation of the nature and importance of the works of Machiavelli. In the introduction of 164 pages,

Father Walker, the translator, gives a careful analysis of Machiavelli's thought and background. He points out the earlier writers such as Aristotle, Polybius, Cicero, and Plutarch whose ideas were similar to some one part of Machiavelli's method (and a full analysis of the relations of these writers, as well as of all others cited or used by Machiavelli is given in a lengthy appendix of Volume II). Yet, Father Walker insists that Machiavelli's method as a whole was a new creation, providing a new approach to politics, the essence of which was to search through history to discover laws of cause and effect of universal validity, as in the physical world, and the understanding of which would make it possible to bring about or avoid effects as desired. Again, the translator points out that Machiavelli was not only a pagan, but was not even the better type of pagan, since he had no use for Cicero's concern with moral considerations. But, though admitting that he was such a pagan, he insists that Machiavelli was not an atheist, that he did not deny free will, that he did believe in a purposiveness in history. He knows that Machiavelli did teach that the end justifies the means, did advocate the use of fraud, did approve the murdering of opponents for the welfare of the state; and he refuses to consider acceptable the excuses which Burd and Professor Whitfield have tried to make for Machiavelli in some of these matters. Yet, on the other hand, Father Walker feels that Professor Hancock goes too far in saying that for Machiavelli *virtù* means merely technique, because for Machiavelli (as for Livy) *virtù* also involves citizenship. Finally, although the translator considers Machiavelli a remarkably shrewd, keen observer of affairs, he yet feels that many of his ideas are wrong, even from the standpoint of expediency, because Machiavelli looks only at the immediate effects of fraud, terrorism, etc. If considered on a long range basis, Father Walker holds that there is no reason to believe that they will be successful.

The translation seems to be accurate and a great improvement upon earlier English editions, as one may see by comparing the last two paragraphs of the preface to Book I in this and in the Detmold translation. The original Italian of important words is given at the bottom of the pages throughout the text, and, this, together with the remarks on Machiavelli's terminology in the appendix of Volume II, is extremely helpful, e.g., in clearing up the two different ways that Machiavelli uses the term *republica* in Book I, Chapter 2. The notes, making up 218 pages of Volume II, are superb, giving cross references to Machiavelli's other works, his sources, points from Livy, contemporary Italian politics, and including the extremely interesting criticisms which Guicciardini wrote of most of Machiavelli's chapters.

As to mistakes, lines 15 and 17 of I, 29, mention "Louis XII" when Charles VIII is meant; the date 1529 given on line 32 of I, 46, should be

1519; the second word of line 12 on II, 113, should be "fox" rather than "wolf" (the sense being ruined as it stands). Also, the speed with which Gonsalvo of Cordova expelled the French from Naples does not seem to show that "the people of Italy were quite capable of rising against foreign invaders" (I, 28-29); but, rather, the superiority in power and leadership of the Spanish army there over the French. But these small matters in no way detract from the general excellence of this fine work, which represents the very highest type of careful, thorough, Christian scholarship.

WALTER W. J. WILKINSON

Georgetown University

Napoleonic Propaganda. By Robert B. Holtman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. xv, 272. $4.00.)

Considering Napoleon to have been the first modern propagandist, Dr. Holtman, a member of the Department of History at Louisiana State University, presents a detailed analysis of his objectives and methods. Paradoxically, Napoleon seems never to have used the expression "propaganda;" yet he is credited with two principal contributions to its development. First, through bulletins and orders of the day he endeavored to be in direct and frequent contact with his subjects. Secondly, he anticipated the systematic official propaganda of today: he had his official press and exercised control over the private press by means of censorship. It is the author's conclusion that Napoleon's methods on the whole conformed to the criteria of modern propaganda experts.

Specifically, Dr. Holtman judges that Napoleon was most successful in his addresses to the army and the lower classes. His principal failures came in his attempt to gain the support of the intellectuals and foreign peoples. This was not, however, the result of negligence. A most intensive propaganda effort was made outside of France, especially to gain the good will of the Spanish. Napoleon even went so far as to have pamphlets in Arabic and Turkish distributed in the Balkans and in the Levant. Similarly, he established an Arab newspaper in Cairo to promote French interests. Recognizing that England was his principal opponent, he concentrated his propaganda attacks upon that country. For example, upon resumption of war after the Peace of Amiens, he burst forth in the *Moniteur:* "It is too bad Hell is not at England's disposal; she would vomit it over the whole universe." Small wonder that in the wake of official propaganda, writers could accuse England of the most dastardly of crimes, including the throwing of poisoned bales of cotton on the continental coast in order to call epidemic diseases to its assistance! Atrocity stories reached their height when French territory was invaded in 1814. The Russians

were then taunted for their barbarism, and the French were told that the pillage of Paris was the real goal of their enemies.

The conclusions of this study were based on material available in the United States, and students of the Napoleonic era will be grateful to Dr. Holtman for the detailed information he has presented. Undoubtedly they will be inspired by his work to bring forth supplementary materials which will enhance its value.

PAUL R. LOCHER

Georgetown University

AMERICAN HISTORY

Society and Thought in Early America. A Social and Intellectual History of the American People through 1865. By Harvey Wish. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1950. Pp. xii, 612. $4.75.)

This is the first volume of a two-volume work on the social and intellectual history of the United States. The quality of the writing is quite superior to most textbooks in history, and the inclusion of the results of recent monographic writings almost violates the rules for textbook composition. Perhaps, Professor Wish leans too heavily on this monographic literature, since he seems to accept wholesale the claims of the recent Harvard historians about the liberalism of the Puritans and the Renaissance character of early Harvard, as well as the smug belittling essays on the early Virginians. At the same time some regions which have not been so well exploited in recent historiography are passed over almost without notice.

His chapters on the European background are too brief and too narrow. English history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must be understood to grasp the social and cultural inheritance of the American colonies. But to get the proper perspective of the place of American culture in world civilization, English origins must be studied more in the light of what was happening in Europe than in what she bequeathed to America. In the same vein, the general nescience among American historians about theology, is scarcely an excuse for constant underestimation of the place of religion in American history. Dr. Wish does better on this in later history, and will undoubtedly do even better in the second volume. There are a few phrases in this volume which could have been left in their original authors, such as that quitrents were "a challenge to democratic thinking" (p. 98). and that about Catholics being "divided in their allegiance" (p. 194). The author's description of American knowledge of hygiene before the nineteenth century is a bit too ideal. At times also he fills in lacunae with ordinary American history. He is to be praised, however, for his

efforts to understand the social and religious elements in the sectional controversy and in the Civil War itself.

This is not yet the perfect textbook, since a textbook in American social and cultural history should be equipped with more visual guides and greater simplicity in organization. In reality the chapters are fine essays in the various phases of American cultural and social history which, with a little brushing up in details, might have a great appeal to those serious readers who have a desire to know more about the origins of American civilization.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt. Two Volumes. *The Years of Preparation, 1868-1900.* Selected and edited by Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xxix, 800; vi, 801-1549. $20.00.)

These volumes represent the first fruits of the labors of Dr. Morison and his staff on a difficult, but adequately subsidized, venture which is to be completed by 1953 when four two-volume sets and an index volume with biographical references, containing approximately 10,000 of an estimated 100,000 available letters of this colorful American, will have been published. The criterion for the selection of letters to be included in the publication is determined by the purpose behind the project, viz., "To make easily accessible all the available letters of Theodore Roosevelt that seem necessary to reveal, insofar as letters can, his thought and action in all the major and many of the minor undertakings of his public and private life" (p. xv).

The twenty-three prefatory pages in the first volume acquaint the reader with the agencies and individuals credited with initiating, supporting, and participating in the project; with the purpose and scope of the work as a whole; with the significant sources opened to the editor (the Roosevelt Papers in the Library of Congress was the chief source); with the criteria on which the selection of material was based; with the editorial apparatus utilized to guarantee the maximum intelligibility; with the methods employed by the editorial staff to ensure wise selection and accurate reproduction; and, finally, with the editor's estimate of the value and limitations of the first two volumes.

Since the 1,931 letters reproduced in these volumes, nearly half of which are devoted to Roosevelt's governorship, cover the period before he obtained a place in the center of national life, they have comparatively limited historical value. Their utility is further restricted by the fact

that they contain very little that has not already appeared in substance in the various works by or about this national figure. Nevertheless, the many who find it more satisfying to digest the raw material of history themselves, and the few whose special interests lie in the study of civil service and of municipal, state, and national governmental administration, will gratefully welcome this set and eagerly anticipate the publication of the more important correspondence in the sets to follow.

Many readers of this REVIEW will be especially interested in the views which Roosevelt expressed concerning the American Protective Association, Henry George, the ecclesiastical problems which attended and followed upon the Spanish-American War, public aid to sectarian institutions, Americanization of the immigrants, and Irish Catholics in politics. Others may wish to note his relations with such prominent Catholic figures as Charles J. Bonaparte, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan, Father Alexander P. Doyle, C.S.P., Archbishop John Ireland, Bishop John J. Keane, Christopher Grant LaFarge, Thomas Fortune Ryan, and Bellamy and Maria Storer. The index in the second volume of the set will generally guide those with special interests to all the pertinent correspondence, although references to a letter on the A.P.A. (p. 403) and to Ferdinand Cowle Iglehart (p. 487) were not included in the index. Among the six appendices in Volume II, Appendix V should receive special notice for its detailed chronology of the governorship.

Serious students of any phase of Roosevelt's life will naturally use these volumes as a starting point for research. The general reader will be afforded unexpected pleasure as the thoughts and interests of this dynamic personality are revealed in his own words. To all readers this fact will be evident, that Theodore Roosevelt was an interesting correspondent.

PATRICK H. AHERN

St. Paul Seminary

The Road to Pearl Harbor: The Coming of the War between the United States and Japan. By Herbert Feis. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 356. $5.00.)

Mr. Feis is an obviously friendly witness when it becomes a question of interpreting American policy in the Far East before Pearl Harbor. His work will not meet with approval on the part of those who have been the severe critics of the late President Roosevelt or his advisers; nevertheless, these critics may conceivably be put upon their mettle to produce a work as temperate, judicious, and well documented as this book. Perhaps, an offer to try could open to others what was made available to this former official of the Department of State, and the argument might then develop on a much higher level than heretofore. What makes the present work attrac-

tive is that it does raise the dispute over diplomacy from the level of insinuations about personal motives, and the author is quite willing to consider the possibility of error in the American position. Indeed, if the order of time were reversed, if the history could have been written as we have it here before the consequences, Mr. Feis' book could have served as an argument for peaceful adjustment and the avoidance of war in the Pacific area.

A point of departure for such an argument would be the implied evidence of Japan's marked though not complete independence of Axis ties in the period between the German invasion of Russia (June 22, 1941) and the fall of the Prince Konoye cabinet (October 16). It is hard to resist the impression, even if Mr. Feis is successful in doing so, that all of the Japanese leaders, including Tojo, were convinced that a retreat was in order, and that they might even have modified their position on the China Incident, if only we had not (and this was Ambassador Grew's reasoning) lacked insight, suppleness, and maybe even the desire to reach an accord. We were already pinching the empire's arteries of trade severely, and as the author paraphrases Grew's opinion: "Wise American statesmanship, thus, would have bartered adjustment for adjustment, agreeing to relax on economic restraints little by little as Japan, little by little, went our way. Instead [the statesmanship] was dull and inflexible." Mr. Feis admits (p. 275) that these words constitute a reasonable position, but to them he opposes the statement that such measures would not have been adequate in order to impose upon Japan "the terms for which we had stood since 1931." Half a loaf taken might have avoided a two-ocean war; and what happened to the whole loaf at Yalta, where the integrity of China was bargained away for Russian promises, was a bitter, if unnecessary, consequence which may indicate that the officials concerned thought very little of the 1931 terms as such. Besides, what one has heard frequently since that time is that diplomacy must be tried even if there is no assurance of success. The unhappy climax to the Konoye attempts to reach an agreement was the refusal on the part of Roosevelt, in August, to meet the Japanese prime minister for a personal interview.

Another point, not so much stressed by Mr. Feis, but always there for the reader to discern, is the pressure which was exerted on Secretary of State Hull by the other cabinet members, Stimson, Morgenthau, and Ickes, and these were backed up by Stanley K. Hornbeck who was the Department of State adviser on political relations, to the end that every proposal made by the Japanese was construed in the most pessimistic way, and every suggestion of bargaining was condemned beforehand as appeasement. Such were the attitudes taken in the department, at the very beginning of the long Hull-Nomura conversations, toward the original subject matter supplied by the private intermediaries, Bishop James E. Walsh,

Superior General of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society at Maryknoll, and Father James M. Drought of the same society, these two having gained access to the administration through Postmaster-General Frank C. Walker. It would be a mild judgment upon our former Secretary of State to say that he seems to have been as helpless as was Prince Konoye in dealing with more belligerent colleagues. But Hull was more adept at clinging to office.

This is an extremely worthwhile addition to our diplomatic history. Other scholars will now wish to follow Mr. Feis, to go through, as he did, the originals, not just the published fragments, of the Stimson and Morgenthau diaries, the Department of State records, to have unlimited access to the Roosevelt Papers, and to consider these along with the Japanese materials which were made of record by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. They will be indebted to Mr. Feis for his broad survey based upon all of these significant materials.

JOHN T. FARRELL

The Catholic University of America

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists was held at Annapolis, Maryland, on October 15-16. With almost 200 in attendance for all or part of the six formal sessions, it was the best patronized meeting in the society's history. The only Catholic institution represented was the Catholic University of America. The newly elected president is William D. McCain, Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. The next annual meeting is scheduled for Lexington, Kentucky.

One of the papers read at this convention was an unofficial report by Philip M. Hamer, Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission. By the Federal Records Act of 1950 the commission was launched on a national program for the publication of the papers of American leaders. The first public fruits of the commission's work is a preliminary report to the President consisting of forty-seven pages in processed form (General Service Administration, Washington, 1951). The aim of the commission, as understood from the outset, was not to undertake itself the publication of such private papers but to encourage groups throughout the country, such as universities, learned societies, state and local history groups, and libraries, to take up the task. The work of the commission is one of encouraging such organizations, assisting in the assembling of materials, and establishing editorial standards. President Truman's reaction to this first report holds out another hope: "Perhaps the Federal Government might also assist by sharing the printing expenses of some of the materials which have been collected and edited elsewhere, but the publication of which is blocked by high costs."

The commission's first tentative list of papers that they would like to see published is found in this recent report. Heading the list of sixty-six names is that of Benjamin Franklin. Likewise as a result of a survey of the opinions of scholars, the commission has given the next place to the papers of the Adams family of New England, preferably as one series, then to those of James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. These are followed by sixty-one names of Americans of all walks of life, including three religious leaders, Francis Asbury (1745-1816), the Methodist bishop, Brigham Young (1801-1877), Mormon leader, and John Carroll (1735-1815), first Catholic bishop in the United States. Other papers recommended to the commission for publication, but not chosen for first consideration, included those of four other non-Catholic religious leaders. The name of Cardinal Gibbons appeared in a list as being under the commission's advisement in the last October issue of the *American Archivist.*

Due to a protest from the western part of the country at not being recognized in the above listing, the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association has been asked by the commission to set up a committee to advise it. John Charles Frémont (1813-1890), explorer, is already listed as under consideration, but the commission has also had its attention drawn to Junípero Serra, the Franciscan pioneer of California. His name would be not only representative of the West and of religious leaders, but since the choices seem to run heavily toward the earlier period of American history Serra would likewise constitute a recognition of America's Spanish heritage. A first volume of the letters of this saintly friar, whose beatification process is being fostered at present, is scheduled for publication by the Academy of American Franciscan History. That the commission should promote the cause of the publication of Serra's papers would be a credit to their judgment, for he belongs to the full history of the pioneer West no less than to Catholics.

The commission's immediate task when accomplished should in itself be very helpful to historical scholars. It calls for the editing of a list of manuscript depositories in the United States and a national register of the groups of manuscripts that exist throughout the country. Dr. Hamer continues to invite comments and suggestions concerning this vast undertaking.

The Rush Rhees Library of the University of Rochester has lately acquired the complete papers of William Henry Seward (1801-1872), New York statesman who was governor of his state from 1838 to 1842, then United States senator, and finally secretary of state in the cabinet of Abraham Lincoln. The collection was long housed in the Seward family home in Auburn, New York. Upon the recent death of Mr. William H. Seward III of Auburn it was bequeathed as a legacy to the university. The papers comprise all the manuscript material of the former secretary of state, dating from about 1830 to 1872, and amounting to about one hundred thousand pieces, of which the major portion is correspondence. The authorities of the library intend to house these papers and other Sewardiana in a special room. To that end they have begun to index the items, although on account of the number of documents the task will not be completed for some time. The vast assortment of unbound material is being worked on first, since these manuscripts are now accessible for research for the first time. Of particular interest to historians of the Catholic Church is the correspondence between Mr. Seward and Archbishop John Hughes of New York. The collection certainly contains Hughes items from the Civil War period. It may well prove to contain also Hughes-Seward papers from the epoch of Seward's New York state political career. The Seward Collection is available for research to any properly qualified scholar.

Interesting accessions have recently been made to the holdings of the Department of Archives and Manuscripts at the Catholic University of America. From the Province of the Immaculate Conception, Friars Minor Conventual, have come twenty linear inches of manuscript records of the Fenian movement. These letters, ledgers, and booklets were partially used by William D'Arcy, O.F.M. Conv., in his study of this Irish-American movement published a few years ago. Also in the materials were sample copies of two dozen Irish and Catholic papers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, remnants of the exchanges received by O'Donovan Rossa's *United Irishman*. Bishop William O. Brady of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, presented thirty-one documents, personal papers of Thomas O'Gorman, professor of church history at the university from 1890 to 1896 and Bishop of Sioux Falls from 1896 to 1921. These manuscripts date from 1891 to 1902 and include materials from Archbishop Ireland that touch not only on the university but on such matters as the Philippine question in 1902. The recent interest in United States-Vatican relations and an exhibit of documents and books relating to their background in the university's library in November occasioned the gift of photostats of sixteen documents from the consular records of the archives of the Department of State by Dr. Leo Stock. They date from 1825 to 1865 and were not used by Dr. Stock in his publication, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States, 1797-1870*. Accompanying these letters was a copy of an interesting photograph of the breach in the Porta Pia at the fall of Rome in 1870.

While doing research in European libraries and archives on the subject of the so-called heresy of "Americanism," Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., archivist of the University of Notre Dame, obtained the collection of papers of the Abbé Félix Klein on the topic. At the age of approximately ninety Abbé Klein, whose name figures prominently in the controversy over Americanism in 1897-1900, is the sole survivor of the controversy. His papers on Americanism will be available to scholars after they have been arranged and classified.

A copy of the Index of Christian Art, consisting of almost 100,000 photographs and 500,000 catalogue cards, has been prepared at Princeton University for installation in the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology. The work of setting up the catalogue in Rome is being supervised by the Reverend John H. Harrington, librarian of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York. A $50,000 gift from an unnamed friend of Cardinal Spellman made the presentation to the Vatican possible. The copy consists of photographic enlargements taken from microfilm reproductions of the photographs and cards brought together at Princeton over a period of thirty-four years as a guide to Christian art dating before 1400. The only other copies of this index are located at the

Library of Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D. C., and at the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

The Library of the Catholic University of America for the past year has been engaged in assembling data of a bibliographical and descriptive nature on all American Catholic serial publications (newspapers, periodicals, society proceedings, annuals) of the nineteenth century. Eugene P. Willging, director of the library, who is in charge of the project, is anxious to procure information on any Catholic title that has not been recorded in the *Union List of Serials* or *American Newspapers,* 1821-1936; on projects dealing with full and partial microfilming of Catholic serials and on dissertations or studies dealing with the history of any American Catholic serial. A tentative record of approximately 1,000 titles has been prepared and preliminary checklists arranged by states will be issued within the next three to six months.

Sylvester D. Luby, head of the Department of History in Loras College, is engaged in gathering materials for a life of Mathias Loras, first Bishop of Dubuque (1792-1858). Monsignor Luby would appreciate any information which readers of the REVIEW may have on sources or literature pertaining to Loras.

Timothy F. O'Leary, assistant superintendent of schools of the Archdiocese of Boston, was the chairman for the opening general session of the joint meeting of the New England Association of Social Studies Teachers and the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools which was held on December 8 at Boston University. Father O'Leary is president of the former group, the first priest to hold the office since the founding of the association in 1897 under the name of the New England Historical Association. The general theme of the meeting on December 8 was "Great Issues in Citizenship."

J. Herman Schauinger, associate professor of history in the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota, is working on a book on Bishop Flaget and the Catholics of Bardstown.

Work on a *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography* is in progress under the direction of Alice Smith of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The dictionary will present from 1,600 to 2,000 biographies. Only about half of them have been assigned to authors. Volunteers are needed to write biographical sketches.

Richard T. McSorley, S.J., of St. James Church, Ridge, Maryland, is trying to further the restoration of St. Ignatius Church at St. Inigoes, Maryland, which is the direct descendant of the original St. Ignatius Church built by Andrew White, S.J., and his companions soon after their

landing at St. Mary's City in March, 1634. The present structure dates from 1788 and is badly in need of repair. Any readers of the REVIEW interested in helping to preserve this early shrine of American Catholicism are invited to get in touch with Father McSorley, who will be grateful for any financial assistance that is given to the project.

The editors of this REVIEW heartily second the suggestion made by *America,* the Jesuit weekly, in its issue of October 27, 1951, that Catholic scholars take more interest in meetings of learned societies. Although the editorial writer in *America* had gathered the impression that teachers in Catholic colleges and universities are seldom prominent in regional professional organizations, he thought this was, perhaps, less true of Catholic historians than it was of social scientists. He said, "Catholic colleges should 1) make sure their teachers have adequate professional training, to begin with; 2) require them to belong to regional, as well as national, professional societies; and 3) facilitate attendance at meetings by generous allowances for traveling expense." Insofar as the Catholic historians are concerned, the registration at an annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association—a national group—rarely exceeds 200 and is more frequently around 150. For a total membership of about 880 in the Association and for a body of Catholic teachers of history that is probably three or four times that number, this is not, surely, a very impressive showing. We do not pretend to know the situation among Catholic professional groups in other academic disciplines, but we can say with certainty that the support given to the American Catholic Historical Association meetings is not nearly as representative of the Catholic historians of the United States as it might be expected to be.

The approach to the study of ecclesiastical history developed by Professor Gabriel LeBras, which he calls a *haute sociologie* and which stresses exact statistics on the practice of religion, has been used by Abbé F. Boulard for remarkable studies of the situation of the clergy in France. Professor Le Bras' methods if successfully used will in time give a more factual basis for the evaluation of the position of the French Church. Whether his methods can be applied in the study of the history of Catholicism in the United States depends upon the researcher's ability to find suitable authorities to answer his questionnaires and its adaptability to the more complex character of American church membership. It is to be hoped that Professor Le Bras' *Introduction* will not only be reprinted but also translated and made available for American students of French history and for students of the history of the Church.

In all discussions of the relations between the Catholic Church and democratic institutions in the nineteenth century the name of Félicité de Lamennais is sure to arise. There is a persistent tradition that Lamen-

nais had many followers among American Catholics, but no definite study of this influence has been made. The failure of the French thinker to return to the Church unfortunately cast a shadow about some of his theories that are generally accepted today.

Gerhart B. Ladner, associate professor of mediaeval history in the University of Notre Dame, who has been on leave of absence for two years at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, has accepted a position as professor at Howard University in Washington, D. C. The following changes in the Department of History at Notre Dame have been noted. Vincent De Santis, instructor in American history, has been recalled into the service and assigned to the Pentagon. Thomas N. Brown, also instructor in American history, has taken a year's leave of absence to concentrate on his researches in the history of the Irish immigrant in the United States. Willis Nutting, associate professor, has joined the faculty in the Program in General Education. Matthew A. Fitzsimmons, associate professor, has returned after spending the summer months in research in England. John B. Duroselle, professor of history in the University of the Sarre, is lecturing in modern French history at Notre Dame during the fall semester.

The September, 1951, issue of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science is devoted to a report on China.

The annual convocation of the Academy of American Franciscan History of Washington, D. C., was held on December 9 and 10. The general theme was "Franciscan Missions in Central America." The main paper, "Franciscan Missionary Scholars of Colonial Central America," was read by France V. Scholes, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of New Mexico. The Serra Award of the Americas was presented to Carlos E. Castañeda, professor of Latin-American history at the University of Texas.

A new quarterly, *Historia Mexicana*, published under the auspices of the Colegio de México, began publication in October. The annual subscription outside of Mexico is four dollars a year. The address of the editorial office is Apartado Postal 2123, México, D. F.; of the business office, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Pánuco 63, México, D. V.

Last August, at the First International Congress of Peruvianists, held in Lima in conjunction with the fourth centennial of the University of San Marcos, the delegates went on record as favoring the precedence of pre-Hispanic over the Hispanic antiquities of Peru whenever the restoration of the historical monuments of the country is to be considered. The Sociedad Pernuana de Historia, composed largely of younger historians, has expressed alarm at the resolution, and believes that both pre-Hispanic

and Hispanic historical buildings should be restored and preserved. The action of the congress promises to lead to a lively discussion among the historians and archaeologists of Peru.

Dr. Lewis Hanke, for many years director of the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress, has resigned his position to accept a professorship in Latin-American history at the University of Texas. At Texas he will also serve as director of the university's Institute of Latin-American Studies.

Carlos Pérez-Maldonado, of the Academia de Ciencias Históricas of Monterrey, México, one of the organizers of the First Congress of Historians of Mexico and the United States, which met in Monterrey in 1949, has been elected to active membership in the Academia Mexicana de la Historia. We are pleased to congratulate Dr. Pérez-Maldonado on his new and merited honor.

Manoel Cardozo, associate professor of Ibero-American history in the Catholic University of America, has recently been elected to corresponding membership in the Instituto do Ceará of Fortaleza, Brazil.

The Most Reverend Joseph H. Schlarman, Bishop of Peoria, died suddenly on November 10 at the age of seventy-two. A few months before his death he had been given the personal title of archbishop by the Holy See. Archbishop Schlarman was educated at Quincy College, the University of Innsbruck, and the Gregorian University, and in 1907 he earned the doctorate in philosophy and in canon law at the last named. After more than twenty years of service in his native Diocese of Belleville he was consecrated third Bishop of Peoria on June 17, 1930. Archbishop Schlarman manifested a lively interest in the history of the Church and that interest led to his publishing two large volumes, *From Quebec to New Orleans* (Belleville, 1929), an account of the French exploration and settlement of North America, and *Mexico. Land of Volcanoes* (Milwaukee, 1950), a history of Mexico. These works embodied a considerable amount of research in Canadian and Mexican archives and at the time of his death he was gathering material for a history of Montezuma Seminary in New Mexico, in the founding and maintenance of which he had played a prominent role. The late archbishop had been a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1928.

The Department of History of the University of Notre Dame lost one of its best teachers and most loyal collaborators by the death on May 18, 1951, of Father Thomas Francis Butler, C.S.C., professor of American history. During the nearly three decades of his teaching at Notre Dame, the University of Portland, and Holy Cross College in Washington, Father Butler brought to his classes not only a good humored and

balanced manner of presentation but also meticulously prepared lectures. Although his early researches had been in the colonial period, he developed in recent years a keen interest in the period since 1900.

A lengthy obituary notice of Father Paul Peeters, the Bollandist, who died on August 18, 1950, appears in the *Analecta Bollandiana* for 1951 (Tomus 69). Along with it appears a ten-page bibliography of his writings.

On the occasion of the centennial of the dedication of St. Joseph's Church in Guernsey, Channel Islands, a brochure of fifty pages entitled, *Catholicism in the Channel Islands,* was published by John Crozier. Father Crozier traces the introduction of the faith in the islands to SS. Samson and Magliore, Celtic monks of the sixth century. After ten centuries of Catholic life the Protestant Revolt in the form of French Calvinism struck the Church in these islands and from the time of Elizabeth to Charles II Calvinism ruled supreme. They had been part of the Diocese of Coutances until the late sixteenth century, when they were transferred to the Diocese of Winchester. The Catholic revival was owed in the main to Catholics who fled France at the time of the revolution and later to the influx of Irish after the potato famine. After many hardships and disappointments St. Joseph's Church in Guernsey was finally opened in 1851 during the pastorate of Father Eugene Connatty. It was the centennial of this Gothic structure, designed by Augustus Welby Pugin, which was commemorated at the celebration on July 2, 1951. The islands are today within the Diocese of Portsmouth. Father Crozier's brochure may be obtained by addressing him at Apthill House, Guernsey, Channel Islands.

The Catholic Near East Welfare Association commemorated its silver jubilee by a pontifical vesper service in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, on November 4. The association traces its origins to the papal relief mission to Russia in 1922, which was headed by Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., of Georgetown University and to the efforts of Irish-born Monsignor Richard Barry-Doyle who secured incorporation for the association at Philadelphia in September, 1924. Another man who did pioneer work for the organization in its early days was Augustine Von Galen, O.S.B., who came from Vienna to the United States to lend assistance. On September 15, 1926, the American hierarchy gave the association its formal approval and from that date to the present it has carried on its mission of mercy from its headquarters at 480 Lexington Avenue, New York. The present national secretary is Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon, formerly professor of church history in St. Joseph's Seminary, New York. On November 8 Father W. Kailer Dunn, one of the assistant secretaries, left for Lebanon where he has been helping to supervise the association's relief work among the thousands of refugees and displaced persons. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the C.N.E.W.A. was marked by the publica-

tion of an attractive illustrated brochure entitled, *Silver Threads: Twenty-five Years of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association.*

Documents:

Traditionis Gallicae saec. XII-XIV ignota documenta de Virginis Assumptione. Caelestinus Piana, O.F.M. (*Franciscan Studies,* June).—General Chapter Held at Genoa Between 1399 and 1402 Mentioned in Letter of Boniface IX. Conrad Walmsley, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).—Lettre de Ernest de Hesse Rheinfels à Arnauld sur la tolerance des religions. G. Lewis (*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* July).—Aus Petersburger Briefen an einen Strassburger Exjesuiten. Emil Clemens Scherer (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu,* Jan., 1951).—Monseigneur d'Astros et la réorganisation des Facultés de Théologie en 1838-1839. R. Limouzin-Lamothe (*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique,* July).—The Arrival of the Franciscans in the Californias—1768-1769. Maynard Geiger (Ed.) (*Americas,* Oct.).—History of Japanese Migration to Peru, Part I (A translation of part of Toraji Irie: *Hojin Kaigai Hattenshi*). William Himel (*Hispanic American Histor. Rev.,* Aug.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ABD EL JALIL, JEAN MOHAMMED. *Marie et l'Islam* [Nr. 8. Etudes sur l'histoire des religions]. (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils. 1950. Pp. 91.)

The author's purpose in this popular essay is to examine the texts of the Koran—and their interpretation by Orthodox Moslem scholars—which bear on Mary, and to set forth without learned apparatus what may be called Islamic Mariology. Father Abd el Jalil deals first with the texts on Mary before the Annunciation, then with those after the Annunciation. In a third chapter he treats of "Problems of Mariology" in Islam, and after a concluding chapter there comes a brief bibliography. The Koran is not indebted to the canonical Gospels, but rather to the traditions which we find in the New Testament Apocrypha. The commentators use these extra-canonical documents—most of them at least—to illustrate the statements of the Koran. Mary is regarded as of Davidic origin. Her father is Imran whom the Koran seems to regard as the father of Moses, Aaron and Mary. This raises a problem which the commentators explain in different ways (pp. 12-14). Some of the Moslem authors know also Mary's father as Joachim (Yu â-qīm) (p. 12). Her mother's name, not mentioned by the Koran, is Hanna according to Moslem writers (p. 15). Her mother consecrated her to God before her birth and placed her under "God's protection from Satan the accursed one." Father Abd el Jalil sees here an echo of Mary's immaculate conception, and he quotes several authors who have defended Mary's privileged position (pp. 17 ff.). She grows up in the Temple under Zachary's care; the Koran says nothing of Joseph, but the tradition knows him as connected with the service of the Temple. It may be noted that the Moslem tradition has nothing of the vile tales of the Jewish Toledot Ye-shū, but accepts the miraculous conception of Jesus. The Koran speaks of Mary in terms of respect; the angels greet her as "chosen and purified and chosen above the women of the world" (pp. 3, 41), and they announce the future greatness of her Son and His miracles and teaching (pp. 3, 44 ff.).

The "choice of Mary" the mother of Jesus, to whom the Prophet always refers with respect, is one of the problems of Mariology reviewed by the author (pp. 71 ff.). Mohammed denies the divinity of Christ and the Trinity, and the tradition has followed him without any deviation (cf. pp. 63 ff. for a statement of the reasons for the Moslem attitude). Yet some texts may be taken as assigning to Mary an exceptional place as the "Lady of the women in Paradise." However, the tradition is not decisive. Some texts place Mary and Fātima above the rest of women for different reasons. A striking characteristic of this essay, noticeable in the other publications of Father Abd el Jalil [*l'Islam et nous* (Paris, 1947)], [*Aspects intérieurs de l'Islam* (Paris, 1949)], is its spirit of charity, the true charity of the sons of St. Francis. This makes him avoid any offensive, ironical remark and prompts him to try to bring out whatever is good in Islam, whatever tends to unite instead of separating Moslems and

Christians. Even if we had nothing else to learn from Father Abd el Jalil's essay than this, it would deserve reading. (EDWARD P. ARBEZ)

ATHEARN, ROBERT G., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Colorado. *Thomas Francis Meagher: An Irish Revolutionary in America.* [University of Colorado Studies. Series in History No. 1.] (Boulder: University of Colorado Press. 1949. Pp. 182. $2.00.)

Thomas Francis Meagher (1823-1867), an Irish-born revolutionary who had been exiled to Tasmania, escaped to America in 1852. Lecturer, lawyer, editor of the *Irish News*, Civil War brigade general, acting Governor of Montana, he drowned mysteriously in the Missouri River in 1867. The adventure, danger, romance, and military glory connected by many with the life of Meagher is but a legend, the result of a "cursory examination of his life." The real life was the "frustrated hope and unfulfilled ambition" of a man who had "little more than verbal facility and some claim to fame for earlier revolutionary effort." Such a "bizarre career" was made possible only by the times in which he lived. Thus does the author state his purpose and also summarize the life of Meagher.

The scholarly setting is detailed, accurate, and at times colorful. The sources assembled are impressive, although many references to newspapers are not always significant for a true understanding of Meagher. In relating well what actually happened Professor Athearn is thorough, but he oversimplifies or makes little effort to pan out the gold from the dirt. Nearly all the strivings and achievements of Meagher are tagged as "natural egoism, vanity, concern to maintain his position, love of the limelight." Such debunking is not always bulwarked by a deep and sound foundation. There is no affection shining through this work for the Irish people. Irish gatherings are "mobs," the people noisy, drunk, gullible, or prejudiced; Meagher is "blessed with the vanity and egoism of his race." With many such preconceptions running through his book Mr. Athearn does not "sing to the heart" and he makes the mind a bit distrustful of his conclusions. There was reason to be indignant about many things in the life of the general, but there was room also for more sympathetic understanding, warmth, and deserved praise. The tremendous appeal of Meagher is explained away naively by the "spirit of the times"; it was a day when Americans "welcomed the down-trodden"; any glib character got ready acceptance; Meagher could "feed on the fame of youthful indiscretion" (to sum up his revolutionary efforts).

There is vigor to the author's style; the facts are well assembled, the past nicely illuminated, but the summations and human perceptions are wobbly. The book is worth reading. (THOMAS F. GLYNN)

BERVE, HELMUT. *Griechische Geschichte,* Band I, *Von den Anfängen bis Perikles. 2.* verbesserte Auflage. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1951. 15, 80 DM.)

Twenty years ago Berve published the first edition of his two-volume history of Greece down to the Macedonian domination. A thorough revision of this work

now appears, the first volume in 1951 in a series known as *Geschichte führender Völker*. Berve is a well known scholar of high repute and his first edition was an excellent work. The second is even better than the first, for here we have one of the most thorough accounts by a leading historian of the significance of the latest work on early Greek history. Two-thirds of this volume deal with the period prior to the Persian Wars. There are nine excellent photographs of well known monuments and a short, carefully selected bibliography which appears to be up-to-date. There is no index in this volume.

Since this work is clearly intended for the general reader and the college student, the author has not adopted new and revolutionary interpretations but has covered, rather thoroughly, the standard materials. The style is good but the pages are closely packed with type in traditional German fashion. Yet, on the whole it reads well since the type is clear and the printing is good. This is not intended as a monographic work, but it will prove a very useful textbook because of its coverage, in summary fashion, of the early period. (THOMAS A. BRADY)

BILLINGTON, RAY ALLEN, BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG, and SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER (Eds.) *The Making of American Democracy. Readings and Documents.* Two Volumes. (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc. 1950. Pp. xxix, 375; xviii, 547. $5.00.)

This collection of readings for American history is very serviceable. The documents are made a part of the general narrative by means of introductory paragraphs which give a sense of continuity and relate the readings to the general subject matter. Materials have been selected from many sources such as newspapers, fiction, songs, letters, orations, poetry, congressional debates, treaties, laws, and judicial decisions. All phases of development—political, economic, social, and cultural—have been considered in the selections. This variety not only provides added interest, but gives a better understanding of the richness of the materials available for the study of American life.

The arrangement of the documents in chapters and topics centers attention on significant and critical periods in our history. A briefly annotated bibliography of recent works for each chapter is very useful. So also is the table of contents which is very complete, listing for each chapter not only the main subdivisions, but the general title under which each document falls as well as the exact title. There is a good index. (DORA J. GUNDERSON)

BOWERS, CLAUDE. *Pierre Vergniaud. Voice of the French Revolution.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1950. Pp. xiii, 535. $6.50.)

With this generous biography of Pierre Vergniaud, Claude Bowers steps fully panoplied into the lists of French revolutionary tilters. His entry may well stimulate among scholars the creation of *un parti* Vergniaud, for he stands with his hero "on a pedestal apart" and challenges the precedence of the champions of both Mathiez and Aulard. Even more, perhaps, than Mr. Bowers has

made Vergniaud his, has the revolutionary Cicero conquered our ambassador to Chile.

Quite rightly Mr. Bowers devotes more than four-fifths of his long book to the last three years of Vergniaud's life—the Parisian years, when he led the fight against the constitutional monarchy and then lost ground, with magniloquence and dignity, to the radical Jacobins. The brilliance of the Bordelais lawyer, his flashing mind and tongue, and his noble humanity emerge clearly from these pages; therefore, the sometimes over-long quotations from speeches and letters are not merely forgiven but positively welcomed. Likewise the warmth of Vergniaud's family attachments shines through. But, such intimates as Boyer-Fonfrède and Ducos aside, many points concerning Vergniaud's relations with his political associates—including Danton and the Rolands—and with his female companions remain exasperatingly obscure. For such clarification as he has given, Mr. Bowers has relied too heavily upon the evidence presented by Vergniaud himself. In addition, he has Miltonically let Satan—here the "incorruptible"—occasionally steal the show. The light cast on the struggle between Vergniaud, who spoke superbly but acted less well or less often, and Robespierre, a true bore on the platform but an undeniably effective actor, seems too simply a lesson for our times. Action was, and is, as necessary to democracy as to dictatorship. It comes a bit hard to accept Mr. Bowers' suggestion that Vergniaud was the shield or mainstay of revolutionary democracy. He was, indeed, its voice; yet in contemplating the infant death of the republic, it is difficult to forget the death of Mirabeau.

But such quarrels with Mr. Bowers are minor and ungrateful. We stand heavily in his debt for the first full presentation of the Girondist leader to appear in English, and for his dramatic reporting of Jacobin meetings and the mad sessions of the convention. The book vibrates with admiration and sympathy for the man and with excited interest in his time; it is to be hoped that it will encourage further research on this badly neglected revolutionary hero. (J. H. KENNEDY)

BOWMAN, FRANCIS J. *A Handbook of Historians and History Writing.* (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co. 1951. Pp. v, 110. $2.50.)

This *Handbook* is a good one to have in one's library. The author makes no pretensions about its purpose—it is neither an original composition nor a comprehensive investigation; rather, it is a compilation of historical titles and references intended to make the study of history easier for beginners in the field.

The volume offers an over-all picture of historians and their writings from earliest times and supplements this with an only too brief digest of the development of historical theory. Probably it would be too much to expect more in a book of only ninety-six pages. However, it is to be hoped that Mr. Bowman's endeavor will serve as a foundation for a more elaborate undertaking in the future.

The few noticeable shortcomings hardly detract from the real value of the book: (1) on occasion an unobserving reader might fail to notice an author

listed because all the names are not underlined; (2) Mr. Bowman's personal estimate of the merits of some historians is open to question; hence he might give wrong impressions to the tyro; (3) even though this volume is entitled *A Handbook*, its author is granted no license for his too frequent recourse to a telegraphic, choppy style. (TIMOTHY J. HOLLAND)

BROWN, BERNARD EDWARD. *American Conservatives: The Political Thought of Francis Lieber and John W. Burgess.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 191. $2.75.)

The author presents brief but adequate analysis of the basic beliefs of both Lieber and Burgess, although on some topics their own confusion makes the task a difficult one. Lieber is pointed out as having followed Kant primarily, though influenced by the romantics and individualists; Burgess is shown to have imbibed his central doctrine from Hegel.

The German-born Lieber was a confirmed nationalist; in the states' rights controversy, opposing Calhoun, he held that sovereignty, an indivisible quality, had been conferred by the organic people on the American *nation* in the convention of 1787. Specific governments, he agreed, might be the result of contract, but society, and in a certain sense, the state, was natural to man. Though so ardently nationalist, Lieber conceded that the societal nature of man postulated world unity, which he foresaw in a more remote period. During the Civil War he acted as consultant to the government on questions relating to international relations and subsequently became well known as a publicist.

When the Civil War swept through his native Tennessee, the Unionist Burgess resolved to devote his life to the study of politics so as to aid in averting like disasters in the future. Equipped for the task by training in German universities, he adapted the Hegelian formula to society in general and American in particular. Man had passed from the teleological into the scientific epoch, one in which the national consciousness replaced God as the source of law and justice. However, since Burgess had a low esteem for the masses, he would have confided rule only to "the best of people." In American government he considered the non-political Supreme Court the surest guard of liberty.

Dr. Brown has drawn his conclusions from a wide range of sources, including a "vast amount" of unpublished Lieber material at the Huntington Library and Burgess items at Columbia University, their published works, and an exhaustive list of critical literature. The reasons advanced by the author for the joint study of the two philosophers do not seem justified by the text. Both were conservatives, but even in this they differed, while other connections between them were few and tenuous. Thus the reader's expectation of seeing relationship is both futile and irritating. Each would have been better served by an individual treatment against a fuller background of his times and intellectual climate. The author has employed a frequent shift of tense, with the present used in paraphrastic passages. These points aside, the work is a useful one for any student of American political philosophy. (SISTER MARGARET JEAN KELLY)

BROWN, STUART GERRY (Ed.). *Great Issues: The Making of Current American Policy.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1951. Pp. viii, 578. $3.00.)

This book is an informative work which gives a simple and easy-to-read interpretation of the historical background to the present international situation, as well as an attempt to analyze and explain current American foreign policy. The authors treat such topics as the evolution of the American system and policy, the Soviet way of life and foreign policy, the reconstruction of western Europe, and the Far Eastern international scene. The book would serve as a satisfactory approach for a course aimed at an analysis of current American policy through the medium of much pertinent information—geographical, economic, political, and sociological. While the analysis of the factors and ideologies behind the international situation is quite honest and dispassionate, there is no attempt to take sides on the issues, and, more so, there is no real positive solution proposed to unravel the maze of current American foreign policy. There are no serious errors of fact in the work, but at times the reader might question the ideas or implications that result from the particular combinations of facts that the authors use.

The format is not too enticing—the book is of an odd size; there are also many pages of unbroken print, and a minimum number of maps, charts, and graphs. However, a good index is provided. (FRED R. VAN VALKENBURG)

CHADWICK OWEN. *John Cassian: A Study in Primitive Monasticism.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 213. $3.00.)

This scholarly study presents to English readers an urgently needed general introduction to an important figure in monastic history. Chadwick's work may be characterized as a critical synthesis together with a judicious interpretation of the best studies on Cassian. After a consideration of Cassian's life and the historical background to his writings, the author analyzes his doctrine on the monastic life, the conquest of sin, grace (an excellent appreciation of a difficult subject), and the life of contemplation, concluding with a final chapter concerning Cassian's influence on western monasticism, especially on St. Benedict. Although Chadwick's study fails to appreciate fully the positive side of Cassian's doctrine and to enkindle in the reader's heart a real love of this early monastic writer, his work is frank, sincere, and honest (cf. Dom Aelred Sillem's review article in *Downside Review,* LXIX [July, 1951], 333-347). One wishes that the style were less ponderous throughout and that such statements as "Jerome with his feminine retinue" (p. 10) would have been deleted. However, Chadwick's study may well become a *vade mecum* of English-speaking students of early monastic history. (ADRIAN FUERST)

CIANFARRA, CAMILLE M. *The Vatican and the Kremlin.* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. 1950. Pp. 258. $3.00.)

As correspondent of the New York *Times* at the Vatican, Mr. Cianfarra has distinguished his profession by this informing and precisely told history of the postwar struggle between communism and Christianity throughout the Soviet

orbit of eastern Europe. Most revealing aspects of the atheistic campaign are shown by the manner in which the captive Russian Orthodox Church has been used as a kind of "Religious Cominform," particularly against the Uniates of Rumania or, where circumstances dictated tactics other than bribery and hypocrisy, by the employment of defamatory lies as in the studied attack against the strong Polish Caritas organization. The author has given especially full and well integrated treatment to Hungary where communism chose to make a frontal assault upon the hierarchical organization of the Catholic Church. In addition to affording a clear picture of the preparation and trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, these three chapters show the spiritual vigor of communism's opponent and expose the fundamental weakness of weapons of human artifice, however determined those may be who employ them. Mr. Cianfarra's sources are often of such a nature that he could not divulge their origin, but his position, his reputation, and the manner in which he has used facts available to all lend his account a high degree of credibility. (COLIN F. BROWN, JR.)

COLEMAN, J. WINSTON, JR. *A Bibliography of Kentucky History.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 516. $10.00.)

Historians in general and lovers of Kentucky history in particular are indebted to a native son, J. Winston Coleman, Jr., for his excellent *Bibliography of Kentucky History.* Mr. Coleman who is collector, author, and one of the state's leading historians, has selected and classified over 3,500 titles which throw light on the history of Kentucky and the activities of its people. In a comprehensive preface the compiler satisfies all queries as to why this or that title was included or excluded. It is Mr. Coleman's expressed purpose "to list only printed books and pamphlets relating to Kentucky history or the lives of Kentuckians at home." Bulletins, surveys, minutes, and proceedings of meetings have not been included. Fortunately, the proceedings of the various state constitutional conventions which furnish an insight into the attitudes of Kentucky leaders at crucial times in the history of the state are in printed form and hence included.

A comparison of the number of titles under each subject heading is interesting. The titles on church and religious controversy, e.g., nearly equal the number on the Civil War; titles on feuds and lawlessness more than triple those on statute laws; horses and horse racing are treated in forty-two separate titles while state institutions come under four heads. A table of contents provides a varied subject list, quite complete in its coverage, and an author index by title number makes it easy to locate any title desired. So complete is the list of libraries and private collections consulted that it is unlikely that any depository of Kentuckiana has been overlooked. (SISTER AGNES GERALDINE MCGANN)

DAVIS, WILLIAM COLUMBUS. *The Last Conquistadores. The Spanish Intervention in Peru and Chile, 1863-1866.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 386. $5.00.)

The author of this chronicle of the Spanish intervention in Peru and Chile (1863-1866) keeps his promise of showing that the truth of historical episode

can often be stranger than the fiction of imaginative literature. Whether his nineteenth-century interventionists deserve the title of *conquistadores* which history has given to Spain's famous explorers and colonizers, is another question. Admiral Luis Pinzón and Eusebio de Salazar are hardly the counterparts of such men of genius and bravery as Columbus and Cortes.

It is one of the curiosities of Spanish-American history that forty years after the battle of Ayacucho there was still no formal treaty of peace and recognition between Spain and Peru. This anomaly was due as much to the diffidence of Peru as to the insistence of the Spanish cabinet on certain annoying formalities. Relations between the two countries, therefore, left much to be desired. Ordinary incidents involving the nationals of the respective countries could take on serious complications if not amicably settled. Such an incident occurred in 1860 after the importation of workers from Spain for the cotton plantation of a Peruvian, Manuel Salcedo. The author gives a detailed account of the legal conflict which ensued between the two countries, furnishing as it did, the classical excuse for Spain intervening to protect the rights of her nationals in Peru.

The affair of Talambo, as it was called, was still in a critical stage when a so-called "scientific expedition" left Spain with the purposes of visiting various parts of South America to conduct explorations and gather data of a scientific nature. Several vessels of the Spanish squadron, supposedly on a good-will tour of various Spanish-American ports, carried the expedition. General instructions to inquire into the treatment of Spanish nationals had been issued to Admiral Pinzón. Through the adventurous schemes of an influential politician by the name of Eusebio de Salazar y Mazarredo, Pinzón was persuaded to take such extraordinary measures as seizing Peru's Chinca Islands to force that country to show more regard for the rights of Spanish citizens. These were the famous islands off the coast of Peru which contained that country's then most important national resource, viz., the valuable guano deposits. The islands were seized by the Spanish squadron on April 14, 1864, as a "revindication" of the rights and prestige of Spain.

A well-documented record is given of the international complications which inevitably developed from this extraordinary invasion of the rights of Peru. The role of the United States as mediator is especially stressed. The author has given an over-all, objective, and highly readable account of a little known incident in Spanish-American history. The serious student might have appreciated more of a synthesis of the author's conclusions regarding the significance of the Spanish intervention in later Spanish-American history. The format of the book leaves nothing to be desired, with its full index and end maps. (WILLIAM J. COLEMAN)

DE GRUMMOND, JANE LUCAS. *Envoy to Caracas. The Story of John G. A. Williamson, Nineteenth-Century Diplomat.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xx, 228. $3.75.)

This book is the fruit of seven years of research and patient deciphering in the recently-discovered diary of the first American chargé d'affaires to Vene-

zuela. The author has condensed the thousand-page diary of John G. A. Williamson with its many repetitions into a modest sized book. While quoting directly from the diary for most of her story, the author has condensed extensively to avoid many repetitions and merely personal details. One feels the extracts of the diary are the important ones, for much of Williamson's diary dealt with personal affairs, scandals, as well as with the changes of government, a revolution, the country, the people, the customs, and religion. In this latter respect Williamson showed a strong anti-Catholic bias; indeed, he was decidedly anti-British and anti-Spanish. Though a strong patriot with many prejudices, Williamson had many shrewd observations on Latin-American politics and politicians which make the book timely reading. (JOHN J. TIERNEY)

DE SION, MÈRE MADELEINE LOUISE. *Physionomie d'une sainte, Jeanne de Chantal.* (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1950. Pp. 284. 350 fr.)

Mère Madeleine Louise has made a sincere and successful attempt to reveal the inner character of a great soul. By the author's simple relation of facts St. Jane de Chantal's marked intelligence and realization of the truths of faith shine forth from early childhood, when her statement of the divine Presence to a heretic fulfilled the thought, "a little child shall lead them," to the consummation of her days as a chosen religious who led and inspired many both within and outside the cloister. There can be little doubt in the reader's mind of the saint's great love for her children, a fact which makes more striking the intensity of her love for the divine will which pointed the way to her entrance into religion. This higher love is convincingly revealed by her complete submission to her spiritual directors, especially to St. Francis de Sales who admired her outstanding obedience and humility. (SISTER M. ANTHONITA HESS)

FISCHER, LOUIS. *The Soviets in World Affairs, 1917-1929.* Two Volumes. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xviii, 464; vii, 465-892. $10.00.)

In view of the great interest in Soviet Russia occasioned by its rapid rise as a military power in the past ten years, the Princeton University Press has reissued these volumes, first published in 1930. No revision has been undertaken, the author maintaining in the introduction to this second printing that the work is more "annals than analysis," although he admits pro-Soviet sympathies when he originally wrote the book.

During his sixteen years' residence in Russia, Mr. Fischer not only had access to Soviet archives, but he had the unique advantage of long and numerous interviews with the men who framed Soviet foreign policy during this period, particularly with Foreign Commissar George Chicherin and his assistant, Maxim Litvinov. During these days the Bolshevik government of necessity sought peace with neighboring nations and relinquished imperialistic acquisitions

of the czarist rule. Thus the author sympathized with this regime, "animated by a dream of a better life" and subjected to "illegal interference and military intervention and the stubborn antagonism of the outside world." Today, however, Mr. Fischer is willing to admit: "With hindsight it is . . . possible to assume that Soviet imperialism existed from the genesis of the Bolshevik regime but lay dormant from 1921 until Hitler pushed the button that started World War II" (I, xvi).

Considering the Russian role in world diplomacy in recent years, the reader will probably find of particular interest the author's criticism of the famous note of Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby to the Italian ambassador on August 10, 1920, defining American policy toward Soviet Russia; the discussion of the alleged efforts of the Vatican (Pius XI) and the Kremlin to effect a compromise agreement in the early days of Bolshevik rule; and the extensive treatment of Sino-Soviet relations. (ROBERT J. CORNELL)

FRANKFORT, H. *Ancient Egyptian Religion. An Interpretation.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. x, 172. $3.00.)

This is a valuable and readable introduction to ancient Egyptian religion, based on the revision and expansion of a series of lectures sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies. The author, a recognized authority in the field, reiterates his view that Egyptian religious thought and practice, while subject to certain modifications in the course of many centuries, can only be explained in terms of the fundamental assumption that always for the Egyptian only the changeless was ultimately significant. The importance of religion as religion, as a vital-dynamic force pervading and dominating all phases of Egyptian public and private life, is emphasized throughout. We have come a long way from the rationalistic preconceptions and evaluations of even such specialists as Erman and Breasted. Egyptian religion is explained from within rather than from without. In repudiating the approach of his illustrious predecessors, however, Frankfort has a tendency to exaggerate here, as in the *Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man,* the significance of what he calls mythopoeic thought. To the reviewer at least, J. Vandier's *La réligion égyptienne* (Paris, 1944)—which Frankfort praises highly (p. vi)—is better balanced. Of the five chapters which comprise the present book, the last, "Changes and Permanence in Literature and Art," is especially penetrating and has a wider interest. It is recommended to students of comparative literature and art for careful reading. The work is furnished with thirty-one illustrations—grouped at the end of the main text—a chronological table, and a good index (pp. 163-172). (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

FROST, JAMES ARTHUR. *Life on the Upper Susquehanna, 1783-1860.* (New York: King's Crown Press. Pp. ix, 172. $2.75.)

This is a study of the social, political, and economic life of the people who inhabited the Upper Susquehanna Valley from 1783 to 1860. The valley em-

braces all of Otsego County, large sections of Chemung and Delaware as well as parts of Broome, Herkimer, Mohawk, Oneida, and Schoharie Counties in New York State. Excepting Cherry Valley with its Revolutionary War associations and Cooperstown on Otsego Lake made famous by James Fenimore Cooper, there are no place names which loom especially large in historical importance. Yet the author with true scholarship, plus native pride, has exhausted his sources, including physical remains, as well as a veritable wealth of manuscript collections, maps, gazettes, local histories, and newspapers to accomplish his purpose. As a result he has achieved a most difficult feat, viz., a book in local history which does not bore the general reader. (CHARLES A. COSTELLO)

GAY, FRANCISQUE. *Canada, XX^e siècle. Aujourd'hui. Demain.* (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1949. Pp. xii, 205. 250 fr.)

After a lengthy stay in Canada as ambassador of France, M. Francisque Gay set out to tell his compatroits about Canada and to give them a glimpse of the splendid future which is in store for this young country. After forty pages on Canada as a "great political, military and economic power," and thirty pages on national unity and religious denominations, M. Gay devotes almost his entire book to education in Canada. The author has chosen to write like a journalist who gives a rapid account of a country he has visited. He had plenty of time to get all the information he needed and could have had access to complete documentation, but he has written a very inadequate and unfair report. He sees, as it were, only English insttiutions; the French-Canadian schools and universities are all but passed over. When he speaks of summer courses in this or that university, he makes no mention of the summer courses at Laval University, which represent the strongest effort in America to spread the French language and culture.

One does not understand how a Frenchman can pass over these things in silence. Where could he have got the idea that in the Province of Quebec only the history of New France is insisted upon? Where did he observe that in the Catholic and French universities the rector is not a member of the administrative board, which is "a source of difficulties"? Who told him that Laval is a provincial university? To what university officers has he turned to get the information that most of the universities "cannot furnish to those preparing a doctoral thesis the books for exhaustive research in the many disciplines which are the province of a great modern university"? Who told him that the population of Canada in 1848 was "composed of pioneers and loggers, trappers and seafarers, all bent on saving themselves from cold, hunger, and wild beasts"? If all these assertions and a great number of others of the same type, are not the product of his imagination, the author should have checked with care the details he culled in haste. M. Gay, it is true, is very sympathetic towards the Canadians; to be convinced one has only to read his long official discourses which he included in an appendix. He has, nevertheless, rendered a great disservice to Canada by drafting in haste and with little critical spirit a superficial report

which says almost nothing of French Canada and which piles up errors. (MARCEL TRUDEL)

GEYL, PIETER, ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, and PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. *The Pattern of the Past: Can We Determine It?* (Boston: Beacon Press. 1949. Pp. 126. $2.00.)

This little book contains nothing new. "Toynbee's System of Civilizations" (pp. 1-72) by Pieter Geyl was originally given as a lecture at Utrecht in 1946 and subsequently translated and published as an article in the *Journal of the History of Ideas* (January, 1948). "Can we Know the Pattern of the Past?" (pp. 73-94), reproduces a broadcast of a discussion between Geyl and Toynbee presented by the British Broadcasting Association on January 4 and March 7, 1948. "Toynbee's Philosophy of History," by Pitirim Sorokin, is a reprint from the *Journal of Modern History* (September, 1940). It is very convenient, however, to have these widely scattered criticisms and discussions in such an easily accessible form. They are well worth reading or rereading, as some of the weak points in Toynbee's exposition, especially his tendency toward oversimplification and arbitrary selection of examples, are emphasized by his opponents. The book has an index. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

GROTIUS, HUGO. *De jure praedae commentarius (Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty)*. Volume I, A Translation of the Original Manuscript of 1604 by Gwladys L. Williams with the collaboration of Walter H. Zeydel. Pp. xxxiv, 438; Volume II, The Collotype Reproduction of the Original Manuscript of 1604 in the Handwriting of Grotius. 163. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1950. /84s.)

These volumes constitute No. 22 of the Classics of International Law, the final number of the series. Scholars are deeply indebted to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for the preparation and presentation of these works of masters in the field of international law. The work of Grotius is too well known to call for further comment and discussion. Suffice it to say that in these volumes the scholar will find a clear reproduction of the original manuscript, together with a careful translation. The printing is well done; the marginal notes are quite apposite.

The work, as the title indicates, deals with the problem of taking prizes and booty in war. This leads the author to discuss whether, and under what circumstances, war may be just and, whether the taking of prizes and booty is ever just. Having considered these questions, Grotius goes more into detail concerning the efficient cause of war; for what cause and in what circumstances war is justly waged; the forms to be followed in undertaking and waging war; the aims of war; and by whom prizes or booty may be acquired. The rest of the work is devoted to the particular problems arising between the Dutch and the Spaniards, and the Dutch and the Portuguese.

In the light of modern methods of waging war, the observations of Grotius in the early period of the rise of the modern state are interesting and, it is to be hoped, not of merely antiquarian value. (THOMAS OWEN MARTIN)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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Alzin, Josse. *Voici venus les jours du prêtre. Méditations sacerdotales modernes.* (Paris: Editions Spes. 1951. Pp. 291. 375 francs.)

Baur, John I. H. *Revolution and Tradition in Modern American Art.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 170. $6.00.)

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Carlson, Leland H. *An Alaskan Gold Mine. The Story of No. 9 Above.* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 178. $3.50.) This volume is number seven of the social science series of Northwestern University Studies edited by Professor Virgil B. Heltzel.

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Harrison, Gordon A. *Cross-Channel Attack.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1951. Pp. xvii, 519. xxv maps. $5.25.)

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VOLUME XXXVII No. 4

The Catholic Historical Review

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VOLUME XXXVII

APRIL, 1951 to JANUARY, 1952

Published Quarterly by
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
Washington 17, D. C.
1952

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APRIL 1952 - JAN. 1953

PUB. 416

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN. 1953

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